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Professors Can Be Wrong

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Professors are human beings. Many are brilliant. Most are competent. Some are unstable. A few are stupid. Professors are subject to all the deficiencies that afflict laymen except illiteracy.

Must a college or university give a professor the freedom to teach whatever he happens to think?

The American Association of University Professors thinks so. For the past year it has had the University of Illinois under what the AAUP loftily calls "censure" because it fired one Prof. Leo Koch, a biologist, for urging pre-marital sex among his students.

At its convention in St. Louis in April the association's outgoing president, Dr. Fritz Machlup of Princeton, stated:

"One of the most important tasks of true, freedom-and-progress loving scholars is to come to the aid of the so-called trouble maker under attack, even if they disagree with what he professes and dislike him for his personal traits, manners or practices."

And not long ago the AAUP *Bulletin* proudly reprinted a 20-year-old credo, written by Peter A. Carmichael, as follows:

"The ground of academic freedom is, indeed, fully clear to anyone who looks for it. It consists primarily of the incorrigible act of reflection on the individual's part and secondarily of the value this reflection may have for other individuals or society. You cannot stop a mind from thinking, as you cannot stop digestion or respiration, except by main force. A state or college that undertakes this must be condemned for an attempt against nature and it deserves to be discredited among all men."

Well, here's a fine piece of rhetoric. But what does it mean? It means far more than the right of an individual to freedom of thought and speech. It goes far beyond the right of that individual to freedom from imprisonment or punishment for thinking and expressing honest thoughts. It means, in fact, that if the individual happens to be a college professor the people must support him for life even if what he chooses to teach outrages the popular conception of decency.

This is a far different thing from freedom of speech. The overwhelming majority of parents who send their children to the University of Illinois would like to keep their kids out of the tourist courts. If the parents of Illinois chose to separate Prof. Koch from their support they, too, were exercising a fundamental right. Prof. Koch could and can make a speech or write a book on his views. But it takes guts to demand a public subsidy for advocating a course of action that the public considers destructive of its morals.

The people, of course, can be wrong. As the AAUP is endlessly pointing out, the history of education is filled with instances where brave teachers enunciated ideas that were currently unpopular but which the world later came to accept.

In 1925 young Mr. J. T. Scopes, a high school science teacher, decided to test Tennessee's anti-evolution law. In spite of Clarence Darrow's eloquence and William Jennings Bryan's confusion, Scopes was convicted. The jury had no other choice. The law was plain. But the law was an ass, and because it was so demonstrated it has fallen into disuse.

This doesn't mean, however, that the wisdom of any teacher must be presumed superior at all times to the wisdom of society, or that the privilege of teaching carries with it the privilege to mislead at will.

Not even the AAUP would censure a college for firing an astronomy professor who got it into his head that the moon was made of green cheese. It might be, of course. No one has yet been on the moon to test the question empirically. But most professors would agree that such an astronomer would have to go because his theory contains an inadequate amount of reasonableness.

Similarly, a professor who accepts money from a society based on popular government may believe that a dictatorship of the proletariat or some brown-shirted elite is a superior system. But he has no right to insist that he be paid to labor for the destruction of the society that employs him.

Academic freedom is one of the toughest of all questions. It is not an absolute right. It requires the exercise of common sense. Schools bound to the mores, taboos and popular delusions of the masses, aren't going to do much to solve man's present perplexities or to light the road ahead. There has to be wide latitude for, as the University of Wisconsin puts it, the "sifting and winnowing" of conflicting theories in an effort to arrive at new truths.

But somewhere there is a difference between the teacher who is simply far out and the teacher who has lost touch with his responsibilities. The claim by the AAUP that any effort by a college to discover this difference is an "attempt against nature" should send that outfit to the foot of the class.

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'Don't Be Surprised at Anything You See in Politics, Son!'

Courtesy Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

LBJ's 87-VOTE 'LANDSLIDE'

Crookedest Election in Texas History?

See page 8.

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Indian Treaties

How Good Is Government's Word?

By REV. I. E. HOWARD

Reprinted with permission from *Christian Economics*

Psalm 15:4: He that sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not . . . shall never be moved.

The American Indian used to be called "the vanishing American," but in recent years the American Indians have been increasing numerically. Someting else is vanishing in relation to the Indian, however: the American conscience.

With many remarkable exceptions, the attitude of pioneers toward the Indians was reflected in the saying: "The only good Indian is a dead one." Very soon, however, the Christian conscience asserted itself and the U. S. government adopted a very generous policy toward the first Americans, if not always the wisest.

Since the advent of the Welfare State, however, and growing hysteria concerning the civil rights of American Negroes, our government has repeatedly violated treaties with Indian tribes.

Recently, the U. S. government has abrogated a treaty made with the Seneca Indians in 1794 in order to build the Kinzua Dam across the Allegheny River in Pennsylvania and thus submerge land promised to the Senecas as long as "the sun shines and the water flows."

To be sure, water is getting in shorter and shorter supply and, in the opinion of Washington bureaucrats, the Senecas have not been making proper use of their land. One bureaucrat declared that they have only "rattled around in it." Nevertheless, a promise to protect the Indians' right to their land has been broken.

When John Marshall was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—a Supreme Court which believed in such homely things as private property—Marshall made several decisions placing the sancity of contract at the heart of American jurisprudence.

For example, the state of Georgia had sold some state lands to speculators who cut them up and resold them in small parcels at a profit. Later the legislature was persuaded to repeal its original act and reclaim the land. The people who had purchased the land from the speculators brought suit and the case came to the Supreme Court.

In Fletcher vs. Peck, Marshall argued that in its original act the legislature of Georgia had entered into a contract—for every grant is attended by an implied contract—and therefore the state of Georgia was morally and legally bound to stand by her first agreement.

Again, the state of New Hampshire tried to seize control of Dartmouth College and to change the rules so that its trustees would be appointed by the governor. Dartmouth had been established as an independent institution with a charter from the English parliament in 1679.

The case came to the Supreme Court and, in Dartmouth vs. Woodward, Marshall argued that the original charter was a contract and that the U. S. Constitution declares that the legislature of a state shall pass no act "impairing the obligation of contracts." Dartmouth College remained an independent institution.

In Worcester vs. Georgia, Marshall decided that the state of Georgia was violating a national treaty with the Cherokee Indians and that such a violation of "the obligation of contracts was unconstitutional.

The conservative John Marshall knew that without sanctity of contracts no one—Indian or white man—could be sure of freedom. In Marshall's day, the federal government forced the states to respect contracts, but in our day who will oblige the federal government to keep its contracts?

The treaty with the Seneca Indians was and is a contract. To be sure, welfare state bureaucrats think they know what is best and argue that the Indians should not be permitted to "rattle around" in a forest; they should have "social and economic development." Consequently, the Senecas will be moved to modern villages with chlorinated water instead of the spring water to which they have been accustomed.

Their children will be sent to modern schools and provided with modern recreational activities. It makes little difference to bureaucrats that the Indians do not want to be suburbanized. "Give me a shanty where I can live as I please," said one Seneca squaw, but to the welfare staters this is outrageous obstructionism.

John Marshall became pessimistic toward the end of his life and wrote to Justice Story in 1832: "I yield slowly and reluctantly to the conviction that our Constitution cannot last . . . "

Constitutional government has lasted longer than Marshall thought it would, but it cannot last indefinitely without moral undergirding, particularly without respect for private property and the sanctity of contract.

The psalmist has given us a prescription for survival in a moral universe: "He that sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not . . . shall never be moved."

Courtesy Nashville *Banner*

A Real Opponent For Powell

From the New York *Daily News*

The New York Conservative party last week named George S. Schuyler as its candidate for representative from Harlem's 18th Congressional District.

Mr. Schuyler is the noted associate editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier* (he has his office in New York), father of pianist Philippa Schuyler, and frequent contributor of articles to the *National Review* and other publications.

He will be running against Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and some Republican as yet unnamed.

Whether Schuyler can defeat Powell remains to be seen. But at least he is off to a vigorous start, by calling Powell a playboy and "New York's No. 1 demagogue," and charging that the 18th District suffers "under a particularly vicious form of welfare colonialism stemming from Roosevelt New Deal days and perpetuated by Tammany Hall."

George S. Schuyler is the Conservative party candidate to oppose Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) this November.

If Schuyler can do that well in the green wood, what may he not do in the dry?

It could be that Powell has a real fight on his hands this time around, and we wish Mr. Schuyler a word of luck.

TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF U.S. HISTORY

Each week **Human Events** will present in this space three or four questions testing your knowledge of U. S. history. The answers will be found on page 14.

Your college or high school youngster will be intrigued. This quiz will get them interested in **Human Events**.

1. *Name an American statesman who spoke out against the legality and morality of the Nuremberg trial of Nazi leaders.*
   a. James A. Farley
   b. James Forrestal
   c. Robert A. Taft
   d. Patrick J. Hurley
2. *How many signers of the Constitution became Presidents?*
   a. Four
   b. Three
   c. Two
   d. Five
3. *From which country did the United States purchase the Virgin Islands?*
   a. England
   b. France
   c. Denmark
   d. Belgium

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Bobby Kennedy to Lead World Youth Revolt

From the Allen-Scott Report

Attorney General Robert Kennedy has made his first far-reaching political commitment since the assassination of his brother.

He has decided to go after the leadership of what is known in U.S. intelligence quarters as "the revolution of youth" that is flaring excitedly throughout the world.

Where this decision will carry the 38-year-old Kennedy is conjectural.

While no decision has been made on the political route to be followed to reach this objective, already young Kennedy has begun to align himself and his political future with the "revolutionary" aims of the youthful leaders of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who represent a wide range of ideologies.

This highly controversial commitment will be highlighted by Kennedy in a series of June commencement addresses and in summer meetings with young officials from undeveloped countries and civil rights groups.

According to Justice Department aides, the young attorney general's position will follow that outlined in a little-publicized speech delivered in Toronto, Canada, in which he urged support for these youthful revolutionary leaders, as follows:

"We must recognize that the young in many areas of the world today are in the midst of a revolution against the status quo. Their anger is turned on the system which has allowed poverty, illiteracy and oppression to flourish for centuries.

"And we must recognize one central fact: They will prevail. They will achieve their idealistic goals, one way or another. If they have to pull governments tumbling down over their heads, they will do it. But they are going to win a share of the new world.

"This affects us: Canada and the United States, and you and me. Our future is tied up with what they think. Like it or not, what they are going to do will have a direct impact on us.

"We, in turn, are part of their revolution. At least we should be, and I believe we must encourage them. They will not be like 'sheep without a shepherd when the snow shuts out the sky.' Someone will share their aspirations and their leadership. If this means that the future is perilous, I must admit that I think it is."

As proposed by Kennedy in this Canadian trial balloon, he will call for U.S. government support for such controversial revolutionary leaders as:

Kenneth Kaunda, 39, head of the Northern Rhodesian Nationalist Movement, and a known pro-Soviet Marxist; Oskar Kambona, 32, left-leaning foreign minister of Tanganyika; Jonas Savimbi, 30, Angolan exile leader, who has secret Russian ties; Sekou Toure, 38, president of Guinea and an avowed Marxist; Tom Mboya, 34, minister of justice in Kenya, and Rufino Heckonova, 33, left-leaning Philippines minister of finance.

To stress these ties even further, Kennedy will disclose plans to contact these young "revolutionary" leaders by inviting a number of them to visit him in Washington before the November election.

This significant Kennedy decision comes at a time when Premier Khrushchev is launching a world-wide campaign to incite Western youth against their systems of government and social orders, including that of the U.S.

Under the direction of Vladimir Semichastnii, head of the KGB (the Kremlin's espionage organization) and former chief of all Soviet youth movements, this undercover Communist campaign is aimed at taking over revolutionary youth movements throughout the world, as well as creating new ones.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy addresses a gathering of newspaper publishers in Toronto, Canada, last April 14. Kennedy has decided to become a leader of the "revolution of youth" which is flaring in many under-developed nations of the world. He would thus be joining with such Marxists as Sekou Toure of Sierra Leone and Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia.

In private testimony before the House Appropriations subcommittee in charge of his budget, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned that Russia is in the process of setting up a Communist-oriented youth movement within the United States and other Western nations.

He revealed that the Reds are planning to call a national conference in Chicago next month to enlist college students, unemployed youths and Negroes in the new organization.

The objective of this new Communist organization, Hoover asserted, is riots in major cities during civil rights demonstrations and to "pull governments tumbling down over their heads."

This new Kennedy commitment fits in with private word from his younger brother, Sen. Edward "Ted" Kennedy (D.-Mass.). He is telling close friends that "Bobby" has an "open mind" on "accepting the vice presidential nomination, if offered to him, or the Democratic senatorial nomination in New York."

"Ted" is stressing that his brother is an "activist" and wants to be in a position in the next few years where he can carry out programs both domestic and foreign that deal with youth.

* * *

As the august State Department's top liaison official with Congress, Assistant Secretary Frederick Dutton has gotten himself into a curious position.

Influential members of Congress have become markedly allergic to him.

A key reason is his apparent willingness to issue sweeping denials and cover-ups at the behest of superiors—without actually having first-hand knowledge of what he is talking about.

The Californian, who started as a White House assistant under the late President Kennedy and "was kicked upstairs" to the State Department, has displayed a pronounced penchant for pouring out official self-serving refutations in the face of flatly contradictory evidence.

As a consequence, Dutton is becoming increasingly "unwelcome" and distrusted on Capitol Hill.

A graphic illustration is Sen. Wayne Morse's blistering denunciation of Dutton directly to his boss, Secretary Dean Rusk. Morse, a ranking member of the influential Foreign Relations Committee and chairman of its Latin American subcommittee, delivered this unusual excoriation at a private session on the hotly controversial foreign aid issue.

The militant Oregonian flatly charged Dutton with breaking his word.

"The State Department's sole 'coin of the realm' in dealing with Congress," Morse sternly told Rusk, "is its word. If its word is no good, then the department cannot be trusted. I want to tell you, Mr. Secretary, that the 'coin of the realm' of your liaison official is no good. It's spurious, counterfeit.

"Mr. Dutton is no longer welcome in my office. He can't enter there. I will not deal with him."

* * *

Secretary Rusk, with the President's approval, is sounding out Britain, France, Russia and Red China on a possible "political settlement" of the grim South Viet Nam problem.

Rusk is vigorously opposed to extending the war beyond South Viet Nam's borders. Supported by Undersecretary Averell Harriman, Rusk is advocating the convening of a Geneva-type conference to negotiate a "neutralization" agreement that would include Laos, Cambodia and South Viet Nam. The two State Department chiefs are willing to exclude Communist North Viet Nam from such an arrangement.

No decision on these momentous proposals is likely until the middle of June, when the build-up in light bombers and other arms has been completed.

* * *

Major foreign aid scandals in Greece, South Korea and South Viet Nam are expected to stir up new opposition in the Senate to the President's aid request.

Reports on investigations being conducted by the Agency for International Development in these three countries will not be completed until after the House votes. Already, the unannounced probes show that millions of dollars in U.S. funds and surplus food were mishandled or are missing.

In Greece one high official fled the country after AID probers learned that $13 million could not be accounted for after being turned over to that country for the development of a central food and vegetable market. The project was never begun, and the Greek official is now believed to be in either Switzerland or France.

In South Korea authorities running the local version of the Central Intelligence Agency have helped themselves to several million dollars of U.S. surplus military vehicles and other equipment without U.S. approval. They began their self-help program when the State Department abruptly cut off other supporting funds.

* * *

Military members of the U.S. embassy in Cairo are being subjected to an outrageous harassment.

Despite the fact that the United States has given President Gamal Nasser more than $892 million in economic aid in recent years, the military personnel of the U.S. embassy in Cairo are restricted to the immediate vicinity of the embassy.

In glaring contrast, the numerous military members of the Russian and other Iron Curtain embassies, including Cuba's, have complete freedom of movement. They can go anywhere and do, constantly, invariably traveling first-class and being treated with utmost deference.

The harshly restrictive Nasser policy toward U.S. military personnel has been accepted in silence by the U.S. government. There is no known record of a single word of complaint being made to the blustering Egyptian dictator.

In Washington, the sizable military staff of the United Arab Republic embassy goes about the capital and the United States without any restraints. They live and travel luxuriously, entertain frequently and lavishly, and enjoy the best the U.S. offers in comfort, pleasures and liberty.

These Nasser "military diplomats" never had it so good, and are making the most of it—in striking contrast to the studiedly ignominious confinement imposed on their U.S. opposite numbers in Cairo.

Significantly, the UAR is the one Middle East country armed with the Soviets' powerful SA-2 high-level anti-aircraft missiles.

The UAR is one of only four countries definitely known to have these deadly weapons—the others being Cuba, Indonesia and Red China. Except in Cuba, where the SA-2s are still largely manned and controlled by Russian crews, the missiles are operated by native personnel in these countries.

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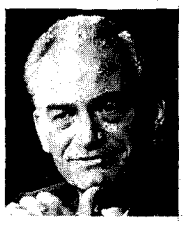
CAPITOL CAMERA

• *House Republican Leader Charles A. Halleck has deplored the current "snow job" picturing President Johnson as a disciple of economy in government. It is the "greatest hoax perpetrated on the American people in 32 years," said Halleck.*

• Sen Barry Goldwater has won some agreement from one of Lyndon Johnson's biggest boosters in the Senate, LBJ's friend and mentor Richard Russell (D.-Ga.). Russell recently chose to lavish praise on the Arizonan's views in an address on the Senate floor. Just prior to inserting Goldwater's speech before the Columbus (Ga.) Lawyers Club into the *Congressional Record*, he said he agreed with Goldwater's views on the "concentration of power in the hands of the central government. I was particularly intrigued by the senator's discussion of what he termed the 'cultural loss' to the country as a result of the increasing control over purely local affairs exercised by the vast federal bureaucracy sprawling along the banks of the Potomac River."



GOLDWATER

• *Mark Hatfield, a pledged supporter of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller for President in 1960, has been selected by the GOP National Committee to be the keynote speaker at the GOP convention. Hatfield is governor of Oregon, where Rocky won his first primary victory.*

• Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) says it is "time for someone other than Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to go to Viet Nam to thoroughly examine the situation and report to the people." He suggests that the Senate Armed Services Committee undertake "just such a fact-finding trip to determine what we are doing and what is our goal in respect to the war in Viet Nam."

MUNDT

• *A professor of history at Brown University has called the civil rights bill a "fake" and said it was unneeded because effective legislation is already on the statute books. Dr. Forest McDonald says the bill does not strike at the root of the race equality problem, which lies in the industrial centers "where craft unions discriminate against both white and Negro workers to keep numbers down and industrial unions discriminate through seniority clauses which make the newest employes subject to the first layoffs."*

Pass Out These Cards

HOW L. B. J. WOULD REMAKE AMERICA:

"We are going to try to take all of the money that we think is unnecessarily being spent and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have nots' that need it so much."

. . . From President Johnson's White House speech, 1/15/64
(Official press release text, **Congressional Record**, p. 2227)

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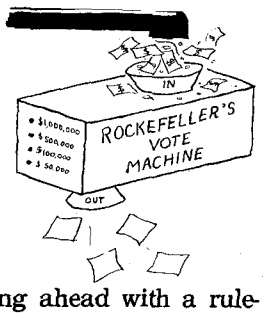
This Week in Washington

The 'Rule-or-Wreck' Cabal

The stop-Goldwater forces have mounted an almost unprecedented campaign to prevent the Arizona senator from winning the Republican presidential nomination. Such, at any rate, is the estimate of pros with long memories, even those who watched the Eastern wing of the GOP crush the hopes of Bob Taft in 1952.



The "block Barry" cabal, timing its major thrusts for the crucial California primary contest, has been moving ahead with a rule-or-wreck-the-party philosophy.

The Rocky-Lodge-Kuchel-Javits axis, the California Democrats, the once conservative Los Angeles *Times*, COPE, the Communists, much of the general press—even the anti-Semites—have ganged up in a crusade against the senator.

"There is no question that Ike's column [syndicated by the anti-Goldwater New York *Herald-Tribune*] also hurt the Arizonan's candidacy," says one bitter Republican. "He even praised the Rockefeller-dictated platform of 1960—actually an attack against Ike's own military policies."

Politicos in the Nation's Capital feel that Ike, who had resisted all efforts to "stop Goldwater," finally caved in to pressures from the "moderns," including brother Milton.

The Arizonan is also finding it increasingly difficult to fight the effects of the New York governor's "Golden Steamroller," as some wags have termed Rocky's bank account. In California, Rocky has bankrolled a saturation campaign, filling all forms of communications media with pro-Rockefeller propaganda.

The New York *Times* admits the Rockefeller outlay is "authoritatively set by industry sources to be at least 10 times as big as the Goldwater campaign."

The governor, targeting his campaign to Los Angeles County where 40 per cent of the vote is concentrated, has been appearing for several weeks almost hourly on either radio or television. (Goldwater, until last week, seldom spoke on either radio or television because of his depleted budget.)

Rockefeller's attacks, moreover, have grown increasingly strident:

• He continues to flail out at Goldwater as being "irresponsible." He also stresses in his campaign literature that Goldwater can't be trusted in the "same room with the H-bomb button."

• A Rockefeller-sponsored television commerical which is scheduled to be repeated hundreds of times in every part of the state is aimed at instilling fear in California's numerous senior citizens that Goldwater plans to cut them off of Social Security. (Goldwater, of course, has never advocated scrapping Social Security.) In the ad, an elderly citizen says he's glad he can now enjoy himself by retiring on Social Security. Another fellow then replies: "Well, it's a good thing Goldwater's not President or you wouldn't get any Social Security. He wants to abolish it."

As the pros see it, the ganging-up tactics and below-the-belt campaign—which could conceivably cost Goldwater the nomination—are hardly marked with wisdom. Watered at the grass-roots, the Goldwater candidacy has received the overwhelming endorsement of GOP rank-and-filers. They have given the Arizonan more than twice as many votes as his nearest competitor. In addition, Goldwater is the popular favorite of the down-to-earth pros in Congress and in the county and state organizations.

But the liberals have been handing Barry a tremendous battering. If they're willing to steal the brass ring from Goldwater regardless of cost, the GOP, say astute politicos, may be difficult to glue together again.

Barry's Views Distorted

The liberal press drastically distorted Goldwater's remarks on the use of A-weapons in Viet Nam. He did not, as the papers said, "propose" an A-attack.

On the ABC-TV show "Issues and Answers," Howard K. Smith asked Goldwater if there were any way to defoliate the jungles that hide the Communist guerrillas. Smith, not Goldwater, was the first to bring up the idea that unorthodox remedies might be necessary to strip away the protective jungle.

Goldwater responded by saying there were several methods under Pentagon consideration and that "defoliation of the forests by low-yield atomic weapons could well be done." But he also carefully prefaced that remark by saying "I don't think we would use any of them."

The liberal press conveniently overlooked this qualifying remark which strongly refuted any suggestion that Goldwater was "advocating" or "proposing" A-bombing Viet Nam territory.

Yet the liberal press, particularly the San Francisco *Chronicle* in Northern California, hit Goldwater over the head for "advocating" use of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, many writers and editors in the country hinted that the mere suggestion was hare-brained, or in the words of U Thant, the beliefs of a man "out of his mind."

New York *Times*' military editor Hanson W. Baldwin, however, has found that use of nuclear weapons in Viet Nam has long been under consideration by the Pentagon and that it has been suggested by reasonable people.

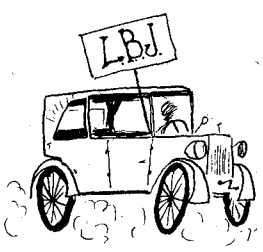
In the spring issue of the 1960 Air University *Quarterly Review*, says Baldwin, Gen Frederic H. Smith Jr. considers the use of nuclear weapons against a valley passage covered by large trees and groves of bamboo. Gen. Smith can hardly be dismissed as hare-brained. While he is now retired, at the time he wrote his article he held the title of Commander in Chief, United States Air Force in Europe.

A nominal yield atomic weapon, said Gen. Smith, would "break branches from trees to an effective diameter of approximately 15,000 feet," thus effectively defoliating certain jungle areas.

In his conclusion, Gen. Smith argues for a "general acceptance by the United States of the requirement for the use of nuclear weapons in limited war." The United States, he said, cannot afford to try to match Asian manpower in conventional warfare on the ground.

Ford's Endorsement No Shock

Auto magnate Henry Ford II's endorsement of Lyndon B. Johnson for President, even before the GOP nominee is chosen, doesn't surprise businessmen. Ford, they point out, has always played it liberal over the years, contributing money to the Democratic as well as the Republican party. (In 1961, Ford gave $1,000 to the Democratic National Committee; in 1962, he gave $3,000 to the committee and $2,500 to the Citizens for Kennedy-Johnson Committee.) A founder of the left-wing Fund for the Republic, he also played a major role as head of the Treasury-inspired Businessmen's Committee in pressuring lawmakers to pass a federal tax cut without serious Administration efforts to cut federal spending. This, of course, was the position advocated by wild-spending Democrats all along.



There is also much speculation in the business and political community that one reason for Ford's announced support for LBJ is his desire to curry favor with an Administration which has made it clear it is trying to control the wage-price relationship in the auto industry.

Veiled threats have already been made by LBJ's chief economic adviser, Walter Heller, that the auto industry should reduce prices while upping wages. But everything is "flexible" and seems to depend on support for LBJ.

United Auto Worker chieftain Walter Reuther, a big Johnson supporter, has already shown Ford some of the fringe benefits that backing LBJ can reap. Last week, Reuther's Vice President, Leonard Woodcock, announced that if auto contract negotiations between the companies and the United Auto Workers fail this summer, the UAW will first strike General Motors, not Ford.

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The Byrd Budget

"You can fool young Henry Ford, but not Harry Byrd," was the pungent comment of one businessman last week. This thought came in the wake of two nearly simultaneous events: Big businessman Ford's strong endorsement of Lyndon Johnson for President; and Sen. Byrd's rip-roaring attack on Lyndon's so-called economy budget.

While Ford was giving the impression LBJ was good for business and the economy, Sen. Byrd's extensive probings of the LBJ budget suggested otherwise.

Byrd speaks authoritatively on economic affairs from his vantage point as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and the Joint Committee on Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures.

In releasing his own report on the President's budget, the economy-minded Virginia Democrat, it was learned, did so in the face of heavy pressures from the White House to get Byrd to "tone the thing down." But Byrd refused to be coaxed or cuffed into weakening his criticism.

In his 16-page analysis, Byrd deals hammer-like blows to Johnson's spending plans, accusing the Johnson-Kennedy fiscal record of being "dangerously unsatisfactory."

Calling for a $6.5 billion reduction in spending, Byrd warns of the "danger of inflation" lurking in federal deficit financing. "It is there now," says Byrd, as there have been "four consecutive deficits in fiscal years 1961-1964" totaling $25 billion and "the fifth consecutive deficit will occur in the coming fiscal year."

Byrd adds: "Spending in items which I regard as non-military has increased 77 per cent since the Korean War. It has been increased nearly $13 billion since 1960. Under the 1965 budget, it would be up nearly $3.5 billion over last year . . . . The secretary of the treasury has told the Finance Committee there was no reason to expect the federal budget to be balanced before fiscal year 1967, and by that time he said the debt would be approaching $335 billion." (Just last week Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon asked Congress to boost the debt ceiling to $324 billion.)

Where is the LBJ economy? Mainly through statistical legerdemain. Byrd finds "horrible examplees" of budget juggling, including a claimed $1-billion reduction in certain government spending programs "under an arrangement which will not reduce their actual spending at all."

President Johnson, who had personally written Byrd, requesting him to "put in a good word" for LBJ when the budget is cut, received this reply from the senator: "I have noted the White House statements relative to reduced employment 'ceilings.' But the fact are: the federal payroll is running at the rate of $16 billion a year, and going up; federal employment is still approximately 2.5 million . . . generally civilian employment in the defense establishment is down, but it is rising in domestic-civilian programs."

Byrd recalls that the Commerce Department has 1,200 more employes now than two years ago when Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges claimed his department could reduce its payroll.

Among various budget cuts mentioned by Byrd were:

- Proposed new federal programs and projects totaling $1.9 billion. The Virginian suggests elimination of the billion dollar poverty program which he says isn't sufficiently spelled out—in objectives or in costs.
- $1.3 billion in foreign aid.
- Federal civilian payroll costs (excluding foreign aid) of $900 million. (Byrd also vigorously opposes LBJ's proposed federal pay raise bill.)
- Waste, extravagance and inefficiency, $2.4 billion.

Viet Nam Fiasco

Current intelligence on Viet Nam from military experts and Vietnamese indicates the United States is facing total disaster in that Southeast Asian country. One Vietnamese, an adviser to the late President Diem, tells *Human Events* the going rate to get out of Viet Nam has already soared to $10,000, the demand to leave it so great.

"There is only one hope now," he says. "That is for the United States to put in three or four combat divisions to lift up the sagging morale of the Vietnamese soldier. Such a plan should first be submitted to the Vietnamese in a nation wide referendum. I have no doubt it would be accepted. With this backing, the United States would then have full moral force behind intervention in the area and could do what is necessary to win the war."

The privileged sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia and North Viet Nam must be bombed or sabotaged and extensive counter-guerrilla warfare must also be waged in North Viet Nam, he said. This is confirmed by guerrilla warfare experts in this country.

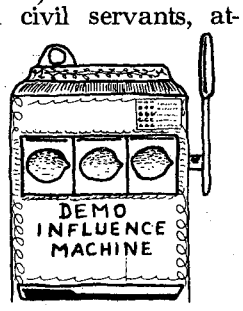
And the police, he says, must again begin rounding up potential subversives, since Saigon, the capital of Viet Nam, has been extensively infiltrated since Diem's death.

The United States, he fears, doesn't even want to win the war; he says he was recently told this by a high-ranking State Department official. If this is the case, he states, it would be best for the United States to accept de Gaulle's plan for neutralization of the entire Southeast Asian area. "This is hardly a solution, but it's better than having Americans and Vietnamese getting killed in a long, drawn out war which can't be won."

- Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, working with Chairman Carl Vinson of the House Armed Services Committee, is believed to have prevented a bi-partisan group of congressmen from taking a look at the Vietnamese situation. The four are Robert Stafford (R-Vt), Charles Gubser (R.-Calif.), Otis Pike (D.-N.Y.) and Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.). All were set to leave for Viet Nam until McNamara returned from his recent look-see into the situation. Then, suddenly, the Armed Services Committee funds to finance the trip were disallowed. Chairman Vinson took the blame, but some congressmen say McNamara requested Vinson to block the journey. When Rep. Stafford recently asked McNamara in closed-door committee hearings if congressmen should go to Viet Nam, the defense secretary ignored the question.

Pressure on Civil Servants

Rep. Ancher Nelsen (R.-Minn.) has scored the new Democratic pressures on civil servants, attempting to force them to cough up money to the Democratic National Committee. In non-too-subtle fashion, says Nelsen, civil service employes were dunned to buy $100 tickets to an affair in honor of President Johnson on May 26 at the District of Columbia Armory. "Over the past several months," says Nelsen, "complaints have come to men in letters and telephone calls in which civil service employes have recited their experiences."



The Minnesotan placed in the *Congressional Record* columns in the Washington *Post* and the Washington *Evening Star* which detailed the bludgeoning of government employes. Wrote Joseph Young, the *Star's* expert on federal personnel matters:

"Thousands of career employes in grade 9 and above have received 'invitations' from the Democratic National Committee in the past few weeks. Many thousands of others had received invitations and followup letters during the past three months."

Young reported that the Democratic National Committee devised a new wrinkle to pressure government careerists into attending the Johnson dinner.

During the past weeks, he said, employes of grade 12 and above in the Agency for International Development (AID) not only received invitations but discovered their civil service grade number in ink on the corner of the invitation cards.

While Young didn't mention it, politicos noted the Democratic National Committee was checking out who would give and who wouldn't with Gestapo-like precision. Aid employes regarded this as the bluntest way yet of threatening them to attend or face removal or demotion.

The threat was all the more apparent to the employes who realized that AID may very well get approval from Congress of its demands to give the agency additional powers to fire, demote and transfer employes.

As far as legality is concerned, Young says that "letters sent to government employes at their homes, soliciting funds for political purposes, are not a violation if names of employes were not furnished by the agencies for which they work." AID officials deny complicity, but admit someone at AID could have supplied the names with civil service classifications to the Democratic National Committee.

The committee, it is also pointed out, had no qualms in accepting the furnished names.

NOT MERELY GOSSIP

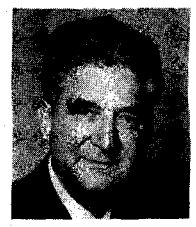
- *Rumania, part of the Soviet Warsaw pact, and Communist Yugoslavia, have put out feelers to the United States about acquiring nuclear power plants. The State Department, says Washington* Post *reporter Warren Unna, "thinks it would be quite a feather in the U.S. cap to be able to extend the budding U.S. nuclear power business into Communist countries."*

- Nearly 100 union goons burst into a housing project in Philadelphia last week, swinging axes and tossing a barrage of bricks and stones at the non-union men renovating it. Six men were injured; damage to the 12 houses was estimated at between $12,000 and $15,000. Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) has repeatedly urged liberals to include protection for the rights of non-union labor in the civil rights bill, but has, just as repeatedly, had his suggestion turned down.

TOWER

- *Chief Justice Earl Warren has announced that Congress will be asked to create six new federal appellate court judgeships in the Deep South. The Washington* Star *says the proposal, if approved, "would permit the President to name an entire slate of federal judges who would help shape the future outcome of Southern race litigation."*

- Sen. Frank Lausche, maverick Ohio Democrat, has charged the State Department is "chiefly accountable for our defeats in the long struggle against communism." He called for an "immediate study, reshaping and strengthening" of the department to bring a halt to "re-evaluations looking to a still weaker line against communism."


LAUSCHE

- *A House subcommittee on federal government statistics has reported that a firm which qualifies as a "small-business" handled 173 different federal forms in a single year. It involved the filing of 37,683 reports, and set up a workload of 48,285 man-hours. Thus, Big Government adds not only to tax costs, but to the cost of doing business.*

- North Carolina Democrat Everett Jordan came to the Senate in August 1958. At the close of his first day, Jordan told a reporter what he had done: "I went over to the floor and stayed around until Bobby Baker told me I could come back." Jordan, chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, directed the recent Baker probe, leading Rep. Ed Gurney (R.-Fla.) to ask: "Is Bobby Baker's control over Senator Jordan as strong now as it apparently was in 1958?"

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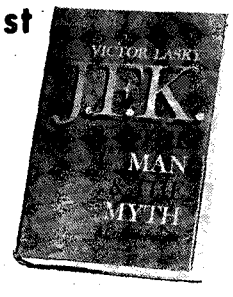

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Mrs. Peterson, What About the Bread Tax?

From the *Northwestern Miller*

Mrs. Esther Peterson, an official of the Department of Labor, was recently named special assistant to President Johnson for consumer affairs.

"All who shop," declares Mrs. Peterson, "want to get the largest quantity, the most value, and the greatest amount of real satisfaction from the dollars we spend."

Mrs. Esther Peterson, President Johnson's special assistant for consumer affairs, should ask why consumers are going to be forced to pay higher prices because of the Administration's new wheat program.

No one will deny the truth of that.

Mrs. Peterson also thinks that homemakers need to understand food markets and the nature of competition and costs better than they do.

Right again.

Knowing what goes into the price tag might be of some interest to the housewife. That interest could turn to surprise when she learns that the cost of food itself is but a small portion of the price she pays. Pleased that her husband's paycheck is on the upgrade, she should not be surprised to learn that the paychecks of those who labor in the food trades are also subject to increase.

Or that transporting the food from where it is produced to processor and thence to retail outlet now costs more. Or even that the steps to insure she and her family receive nothing but quality controlled, carefully tested foods cost money, with that cost being reflected in the price she pays.

We ourselves have a pretty good question for Mrs. Peterson to ask in her capacity as protector of the consumer.

She should ask what is going to be the effect of the new wheat program President Johnson has enacted in time for the upcoming national elections. What's in it for the consumer? Mrs. Peterson might exhibit some feminine curiosity to find out why critics have called the certificate plan a "bread tax." Because that's what it is. And the consumer will pay it.

Naturally, she will hear from officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture that claims of a rise in the price of bread are nonsense. But wheat prices will rise. And so flour will cost more. The millers will have to pass along the increased costs to the bakers, and the bakers will add them to the price of bread.

Certain USDA officials, claiming that increased wheat costs amount to but a fraction of a cent on the price of a loaf, forget the cumulative effect of the sort of impost they have placed on the industry. That fraction of a cent they talk about is multiplied many million times. And those officials appear to forget that labor, distribution, and other costs are continually mounting. They have to show up on the price tag or the end result is a bankrupt industry.

And surely no economist, in or out of government, even the home economist herself, for that is what the housewife is, will expect the bakers, or the millers for that matter, to absorb the extra costs resulting from a government edict.

□ □ □

SILVER LINING—One of the benefits of inflation is that kids can no longer get sick on a nickel's worth of candy.
—From *Roll Call*

Annemarie Marco takes shelter under the pages of a 10-pound, 328-page questionnaire sent by the Federal Power Commission to 144 natural gas companies. The questionnaire has been criticized by some industry spokesmen as a "burden" to business. Power industry sources estimate it will cost each company from $85,000 to $250,000 to get and fill in all the answers.

Government's 'Paperwork Jungle'

By REP. ROBERT McLOSKEY (R.-Ill.)

That old inevitable tandem of death and taxes has a third partner—government paper.

No matter what your occupation or business is, chances are there is a government form in your future. It adds up to a costly and time-consuming proposition for the government and the taxpayer.

President Johnson focused on the problem last December when he told agency heads to cut down on the excessive paperwork. But it is beginning to look as if a congressional machete will be needed to hack through the dense "Paperwork Jungle" and cut down the vast army of government paper pushers.

At last count, there were some 5,500 standard report forms which are filled out on a weekly, monthly or yearly basis. One of the prize-winning entries is a 10-pound questionnaire from the Federal Power Commission. [See picture above.]

A House Post Office and Civil Service Committee now is looking into ways of reducing the excessive paperwork the government requires from the public. From the testimony already in, it would appear the small businessman spends about half of his time filling out government forms. Some witnesses have said they often found it impossible to distinguish between a mandatory and voluntary report.

For many businessmen, the time consumed in filling in government reports can be the difference between a profit or a loss. There is the initial cost of processing the government form. There is the additional cost of storing the form.

Of course it can be argued that in the age of the computer, voluminous paperwork is not an insurmountable problem. But as one witness told the subcommittee: "Indiscriminate, poorly planned computer use can build mountains of paper where only hills previously existed."

For example, the Internal Revenue Service has a heavy investment in computers, but employment there has increased by 13,000 since 1960. At the same time, the cost of collecting $100 in taxes has increased by about 30 per cent.

If the government is interested in improving its public image, it can begin whacking away at the "Paperwork Jungle." There seems to be little reason or necessity for the mass of government paper which is smothering the public.

□ □ □

Red Crops

A Polish radio reporter asked a man in the streets of Warsaw what he thought of the harvest results.

"Oh, I think they're average."

"What do you mean by that?"

"Worse than last year's but better than next year's."—From the New York *Times Magazine*

□ □ □

KEEP THE CHANGE—The government says we can save money if we would issue $2 bills. They would be handy, too, because then you could use a $2 bill to buy a dollar's worth of something.—From the *Sunday Journal Review*, New Ulm, Minn.

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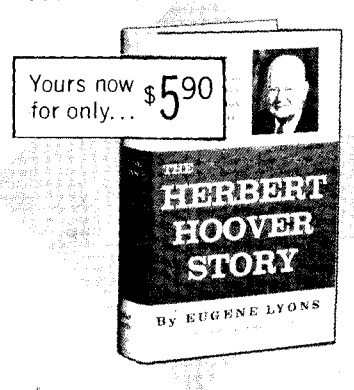

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Cuban Exiles Still Harassed

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

"We must end the harassment . . . of liberty-loving anti-Castro exiles . . . . While we cannot violate international law, we must recognize that these exiles represent the real voice of Cuba and should not be constantly handicapped by our Immigration and Justice Department authorities."

Barry Goldwater? Richard Nixon? Tom Dodd?

The words are those of John F. Kennedy, in a major campaign statement issued Oct. 15, 1960. Now comes a Democratic senator who demands that President Lyndon Johnson follow the policies urged by his predecessor.

Alaska Sen. Ernest Gruening notes the exiles are "risking their lives in a praiseworthy effort to weaken the Communist regime and contribute to its overthrow, a policy to which the United States is supposedly committed."

Gruening made these remarks last week as federal agents cracked down once again on Cubans who sought only to win freedom for their homeland.

A leader in the exile community, Tony Cuesta, last fall described the situation: "In Florida, where we once were welcome, we must now operate like guerrillas in the hills. We are watched like criminals."

Despite the efforts of federal agents, Cuesta—who heads an exile organization, Commandos L—last year directed several successful attacks against the Castro regime.

Cuesta was under constant federal surveillance by the FBI, the CIA, the Border Patrol, the State Department, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. G-men last September 22 raided the Hialeah home of three Commandos L members, confiscating dynamite, liquid fuels and blasting caps, plus a 2-millimeter cannon and an arsenal of small arms.

A month later, the Feds seized another $30,000 worth of arms and ammunition, thwarting an expeditionary raid on Cuba, and confiscating the Commandos L small boats.

As Sen. Ken Keating pointed out, the Justice and State Departments intervened in federal court on Castro's side, asking for a ruling against an American firm that had sought compensation for Cuban properties seized in violation of international law.

Another exile leader, Mario Kohly, was arrested by federal authorities when he printed counterfeit Cuban notes with which he hoped to flood Cuba and futher weaken the Castro economy.

Despite the federal harassment, the exiles recently carried off several important raids. According to Castro, exile "mercenaries and traitors" swooped down on a sugar mill in eastern Cuba, destroying more than two million pounds of the sweet stuff and strafing from a small craft lying offshore the homes of Cuban workers.

The raids were the work of the Revolutionary Recovery Movement, an exile group headed by Manuel Artime, a Bay of Pigs brigade captain. A spokesman for the Artime group says that "commandos, frogmen, combat engineers, signal corps and torpedo units, as well as guerrillas" took part in the recent raids. He promises additional attacks in coming weeks.

"Wonderful," says Gruening. "We must wish them good luck and success."

* * *

Sixteen of the Democratic senators who last week voted to end the Bobby Baker investigation are up for re-election in November. While some (notably Ted Kennedy and John Stennis) are considered unbeatable, several face a tough fight, and Republicans expect to make good use of the Baker votes.

Indiana's Vance Hartke recently voted to quash the Baker probe. In a 1961 speech, the GOP has discovered, Hartke said: "If the time comes when I am asked where I stand in the estimation of my friends, I should like to say that I stand high in the friendship of Robert Baker."

Another who joined in the 1961 tribute to Baker is West Virginia's Robert C. Byrd, who observed that a "word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver." He quoted Alexander Pope to express his feelings toward Baker: "Thou are my guide, philosopher and friend."

Maine's Ed Muskie, who faces serious challenge from Republican Congressman Cliff McIntyre, in 1961 praised Baker as "a tremendous source of learning for me."

Montana's Mike Mansfield, the Democratic Senate chief, led the fight to end the Baker inquiry. In the same 1961 series, Mansfield lionized Baker as "one of the country's most distinguished sons and public servants."

The Democrats who recently voted to terminate the Baker probe and who are up for re-election are: Burdick (N. D.); Byrd (W. Va.); Cannon (Nev.); Dodd (Conn.); Hartke (Ind.); Holland (Fla.); Kennedy (Mass.); Mansfield (Mont.); McCarthy (Minn.); Muskie (Maine); McGee (Wyo.); Moss (Utah); Pastore (R.I.); Stennis (Miss.); Yarborough (Tex.) and Young (Ohio).

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THINK TWICE— The most serious impediment to marriage these days is the difficulty of supporting both a wife and the government on one income. —From the Clay City (Ind.) *News*

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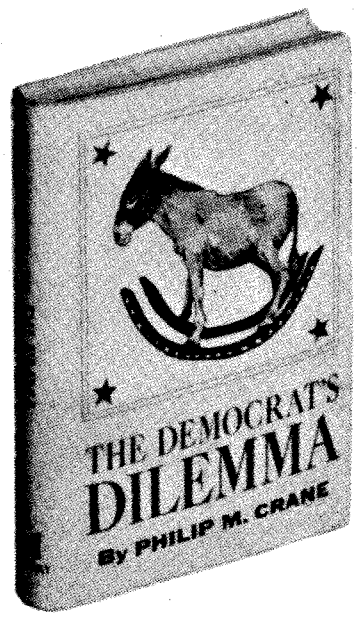

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The Mystery c

THE 87 VOTES THAT SENT 'LA

A Human I

Deep in south Texas near the Mexican border, there sprawled for many years, a political fiefdom whose oil-rich master put Lyndon Johnson in the United States Senate.

It was 1948 and Texas voters went to the polls to select a Democratic senatorial candidate. They gave former Governor Coke Stevenson a handsome margin of 70,000 votes over his nearest competitor. Congressman Lyndon Johnson.

But also-rans kept Stevenson from winning an absolute majority and Johnson won his first of several reprieves. With the run-off scheduled for August 28, Johnson launched a desperate campaign to close the gap.

The congressman had entered politics only a decade earlier. A school teacher, then a male secretary, he used $10,000 of his wife's inheritance to finance a campaign for the House in 1937. The only Texas candidate to support FDR's court-packing scheme, Lyndon beat eight opponents. Four years later he tried for the Senate and lost. The 1948 race was his last chance for Senate victory.

Behind Johnson was a curious coalition of industrial tycoons and union chieftains, of Southern eggheads and iron-fisted political bosses. The key member of this coalition was George Parr, a red-haired millionaire who ran three counties in southern Texas as virtual baronies.

The Parrs had controlled Duval, Jim Wells and Zapata Counties for almost half a century. State Sen. Archie Parr had handed the political reins to his son in 1928, and George, the self-styled Duke of Duval, had been the undisputed boss from then on.

Parr, the *Saturday Evening Post* charged, ruled "with the power of a monarch and the aid of a gun-toting private army. . . He has driven Latin American citizens. . . to the polls like docile cattle, there to vote as he pleased."

Gov. Allan Shivers would in 1951 call Parr a "cancer on the face of Texas" and charge that he held the tens of thousands of Mexican-Americans in his district as political hostages. He paid their poll taxes, got them their jobs; even their lives were dependent on this one, all-powerful figure. They were the pathetic cogs in the Parr machine.

Few eyebrows were raised when returns from the Parr counties came in on Saturday, August 28, giving Johnson, the little-known congressman from upstate, 10,547 votes and Stevenson, the popular, three-term governor, 368. Boss Parr had given other candidates 50-to-1 margins.

For once, it appeared that Parr's help was not enough. A day after the polls closed, the Texas Election Bureau gave Stevenson a narrow but apparently conclusive lead.

Because the results were not yet final, both sides engaged in frantic efforts to find new votes, to discover errors in tabulation. In Dallas, figures from one voting machine were found to have been transposed. Results from another had not, for some reason, been reported.

An 'Amended Report'

The honest errors on both sides cancelled each other out and changes had no effect on the outcome. On Wednesday, four days after the election, Stevenson was declared victorious by the State Election Bureau.

Johnson ignored the bureau findings, issued a victory statement and cryptically urged his friends to "do their duty." Almost immediately, Stevenson later noted, unprecedented gains began to roll in from the South Texas counties controlled by Parr.

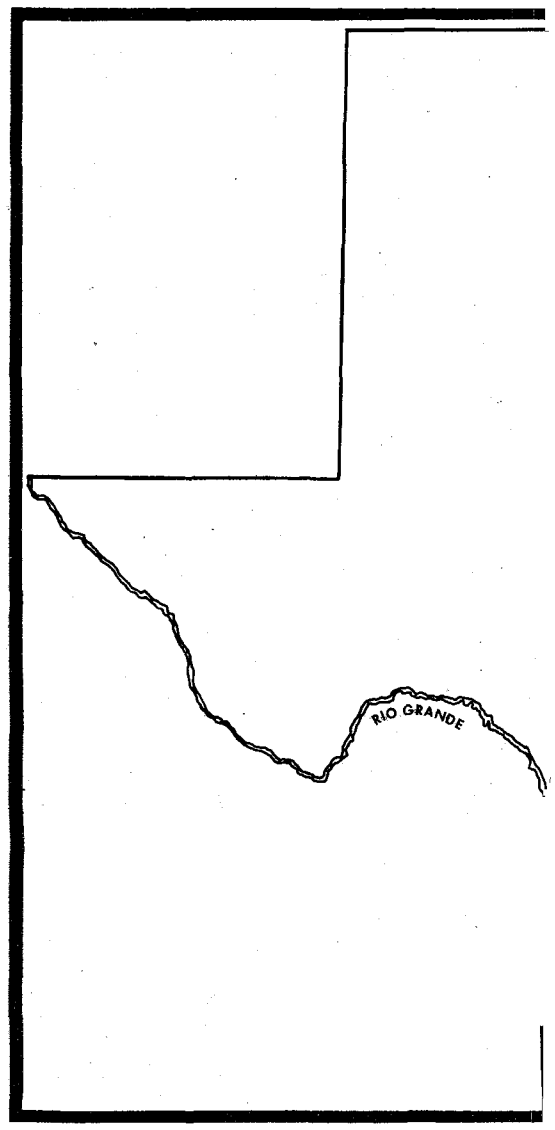
On Friday, September 3, there arrived at the State Election Bureau an "amended report" for Precinct 13 in Jim Wells County. Local officials claimed to have found 203 new votes—202 of them for Johnson. If accepted as valid, they would give Johnson the election by 87 votes.

When Stevenson's outraged supporters demanded a supervised recount of Precinct 13, Johnson got a court order from an Austin jurist that prohibited the elimination of "any votes on the grounds of illegality, irregularity or fraud in the holding of said election."

The furious battle was carried to the State Democratic Committee, whose members, under heavy pressure from lieutenants of Harry Truman, gave the liberal Johnson a 29-to-28 endorsement. When Stevenson backers made plans to reverse the endorsement at the state Democratic convention, they were denied credentials.

But Stevenson had not yet given up. He and three aides drove to the town of Alice, the Jim Wells County seat, and conferred with the newly elected chairman and secretary of the Democratic County Committee, Henry Adams and H.L. Pool, who told them they feared foul play on the part of Parr and his henchmen.

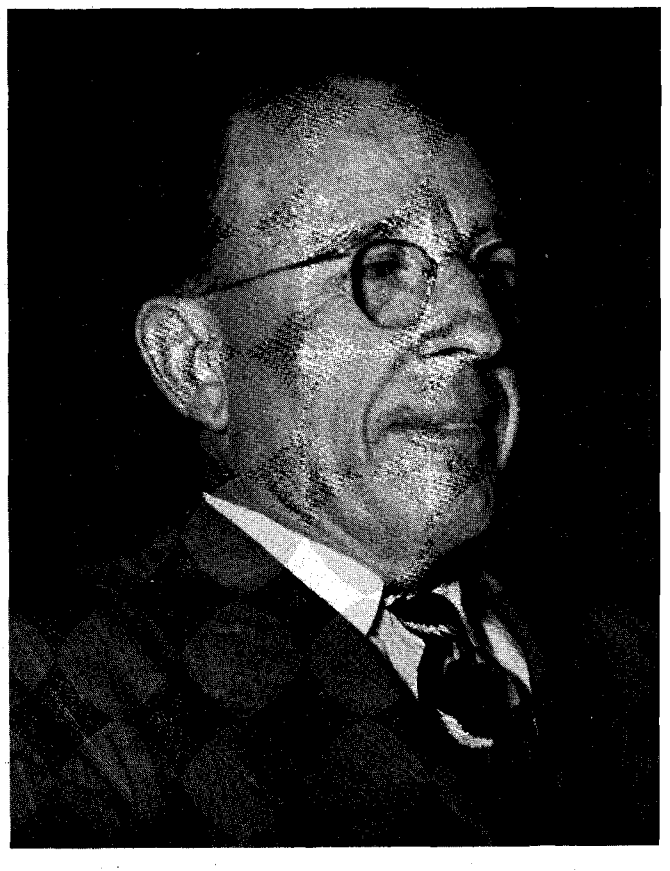
Adams and Pool had refused to go along with Parr in the Stevenson purge. They informed the governor and his lawyers that 203 names had been added to the official voting list—apparently after the polls had closed.



Lyndon Johnson relaxes at home, awaiting returns in the 1948 Texas Democratic senatorial primary. Although trailing at this point, he issued a victory statement in which he cryptically urged his friends to "do their duty." They did.

Former Texas Gov. Coke Stevenson listens to primary returns over the radio on the night of July 24, 1948. At this time he held a slim lead, but when all the results were "tabulated," LBJ was the victor by 87 votes—494,191 to 494,104.

Southern Texas political leader George Parr, the oft-d "Duke of Duval", is shown at the State Democratic Co tion in Fort Worth in September, 1948. Votes fr counties, Duval, Jim Wells and Zapata, were instru in Johnson's primary victory.



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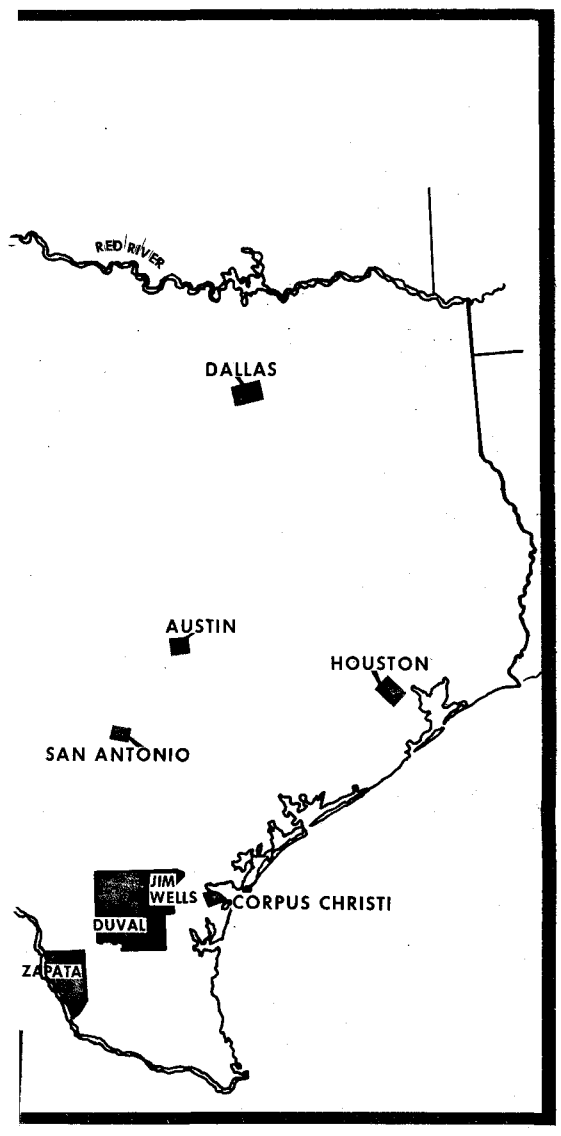
Ballot Box 13

NDSLIDE LYNDON' TO THE SENATE

Staff Report

The first 821 names had appeared in blue ink. The 203 new ones were in green. Each of the 203 was written in the same hand. They were in alphabetical order—an order in which it is highly doubtful voters would come to the polls.

A Parr lieutenant, a Precinct 13 official named Tom Donald, refused to let Stevenson see the list. When Stevenson, accompanied by two aides and a Texas Ranger, showed up at the Parr bank where Donald worked, they won a small concession. Donald allowed them to see the list for a few seconds, then re-locked it in the bank's safe.



600 Ballots, 1000 Votes

Stevenson and his assistants had memorized 15 names in the short time they were permitted to see the list. Of the 15, three were found to be buried in the local cemetery. Another, Hector Serda, was located miles away, in Kingsville. He swore that he had been out of the county on Election Day and had cast no ballot. Enriqueta Acers, a housewife, denied that she had voted and swore she was ineligible.

Further investigation failed to locate a single one of the 15 who would say he voted.

As a last resort, the Stevenson forces went to federal court and argued that the governor's civil rights had been violated by wholesale vote fraud. After hearing the evidence, Judge Whitfield Davidson agreed there was enough evidence of irregularity to warrant a full investigation. He issued a temporary restraining order preventing the secretary of state from printing Johnson's name on the November ballot. He ordered a hearing for Tuesday, September 21.

On that date, Stevenson attorneys revealed that only 600 ballots had been issued for precinct 13 but more than 1,000 votes had been cast. They introduced affidavits and produced witness who swore they did not vote, although they were recorded by Parr officials as having done so.

John Cofer, who was later to represent Billie Sol Estes, argued the Johnson case. He insisted that a federal court had no jurisdiction over a senatorial primary and argued that Stevenson "has no civil rights. . . He is merely a poor loser."

Judge Davidson banged down his gavel and informed attorney Cofer that Stevenson was entitled to a hearing and would get one, adding that he had not heard a "word of evidence to disprove this client's claim, that he has been robbed of a seat in the United States Senate." Davidson appointed a comissioner of the court, W. R. Smith, and vested in him the broadest powers to get the facts on the Precinct 13 dispute.

When Commissioner Smith seized the precinct ballot box, he found not ballots but trash and old newspapers. Subpoenas for two of Parr's lieutenants went unserved. One high-tailed it out of town for California, the other for Mexico.

The Smith investigation came to a jarring halt soon after an influential Washington lawyer intervened with Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in Johnson's behalf. The lawyer, Abe Fortas, obtained from Black an order cancelling all investigations of the election and ordering Johnson certified as the Democratic nominee—which in 1948 was equivalent to election.

One day later, September 30, Secretary of State Paul Brown telegraphed all county clerks with instructions to place the name of Lyndon Johnson on the November ballot. Against token Republican opposition, candidate Johnson rolled to an easy 2-to-1 victory and went off to Washington.

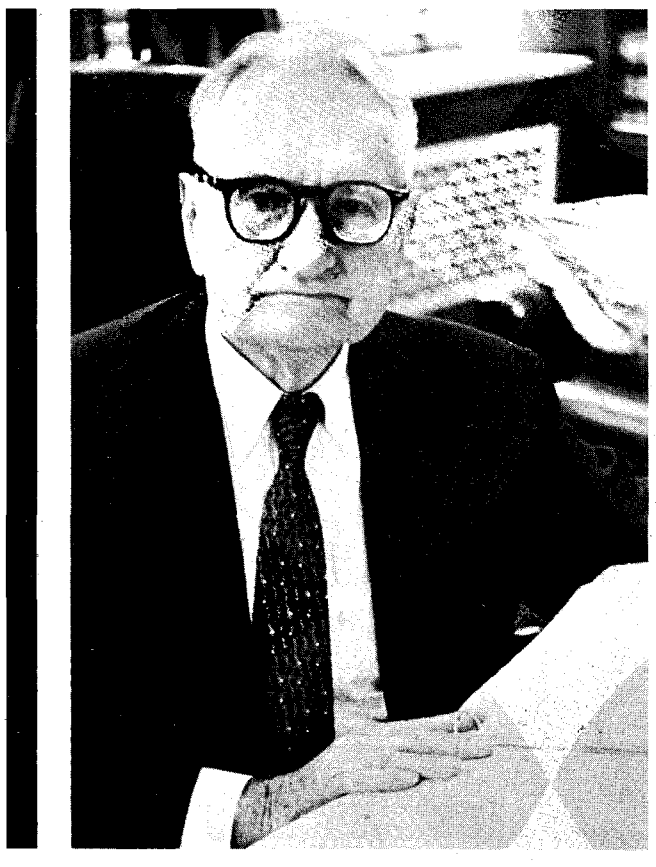
"Can anyone with common sense and integrity of mind fail to admit that a fair count of the vote would have given Stevenson a majority in the second primary? That must be the verdict from any consideration based upon common sense and common honesty."—Dallas Morning News, Oct. 29, 1948.

Members of the Senate Rules Committee insisted that Johnson should not be seated, arguing he had won victory by fraud. Senate investigators dispatched to Texas found that all records had been destroyed in the Parr counties. With no evidence available to buttress the Stevenson claims, Johnson was seated.

As far Parr, a grateful Harry Truman granted him an executive pardon for an income tax conviction that had kept him in a federal penitentiary during the early 1940's. The Duke of Duval was soon indicted on new charges of tax fraud, convicted and given 10 years. The decision was upheld all the way to the Supreme Court where Abe Fortas turned on the forensics and Parr won a reversal on a controversial technicality.

Parr remains a political power in Duval County. Fortas is rumored to be in line for the Attorney General's job. "Landslide Lyndon" is President and there is "no comment whatsoever" at the White House on that stranger-than-fiction election of 1948.

Federal Judge Whitfield Davidson ordered a hearing, saying he had not heard "a word of evidence to disprove this client's [Stevenson's] claim, that he had been robbed of a seat in the U.S. Senate."



Then congressman Lyndon B. Johnson and his wife Lady Bird were also at the State Democratic Convention in Fort Worth, in September, 1948. Here they are shown as they were introduced to the convention after Johnson had been certified as the party's senatorial nominee over former three-term Gov. Stevenson. At this time, Democratic primary victory in Texas was tantamount to election.

Lawyer Abe Fortas represented LBJ.

Justice Hugo Black quashed the investigation.

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Right-To-Work Debate

Distortion of Word from Rome

By Rev. John E. Coogan, S.J.,

Professor of Sociology, West Baden College, Indiana

Americans who suppose their Catholic fellow-citizens' attitude in social action program is monolithic and determined by Rome would be amazed at the facts. Rome of course frequently speaks, especially through the encyclicals; but her words have to be interpreted in order to be applied to the American scene.

Roman teachings may easily suffer a "sea change" in the process. Individual bishops sometimes interpret authoritatively for their own dioceses. But the more usual agency of interpretation for the whole country is the quite unauthoritative Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.

Its director, Msgr. George G. Higgins, is habitually lined up with the group commonly called "liberal." Indeed, he has repeatedly been publicly described as a member of the Fabian-tinted Americans for Democratic Action, for example, in the well known study made by Robert T. Hartmann, chief of the Los Angeles *Times*' Washington bureau. (This study appeared in the *Times*, Sept. 3 to 10, 1961.)

The monsignor has not seen fit to deny the imputed membership. Not surprisingly, then, Roman teachings often seem to carry intimations of the ADA when they come from his pen.

The chief source of dissatisfaction found by critics of the monsignor's interpretations of Catholic social teachings is in the field of labor unions. Notwithstanding the fact that positive Catholic approval has never been given any labor unions other than those religiously inspired, the monsignor has flatly declared, "The American bishops have long since given their enthusiastic approval of our neutral unions."

As to where that "enthusiastic approval" is to be found, we are told it is to be gathered from the bishops' conduct over a long period of years. For example, from their invocations at labor union conventions, their presence at various labor meetings—things like that! The evidence for the monsignor's flat, unequivocal statement, then, is something synthetic, do-it-yourself!

It would indeed be singular if the American bishops had given their "enthusiastic approval" to our neutral or secular unions when every Pope who has spoken on labor unionism has insisted upon the need of religious principles if the unions are to function acceptably.

Leo XIII set the standard when in 1891, in the first labor encyclical, he declared that the industrial problem is moral and religious. Hence, he added, "such things [as labor unions] must not be attempted without the sanction of religion, without including it in our plans and calling on its aid."

Popes Pius X and XI were even more emphatic. Finally, Pius XII in 1949 showed the continued dissatisfaction of Rome with unions other than Christian by saying the Church gave trade unions her approval "always on condition . . . that based on the laws of Christ, as on an unshakeable foundation, they would work for the promotion of a Christian order among the workers." That, of course, our unions do not even pretend to do.

Msgr. Higgins' further current claim is that benign Pope John, in his encyclical *Mater et Magistra*, equated our American unions with Christian unions! The monsignor cites the German Jesuit, Nell-Breuning, as confirming that interpretation.

What are the facts? The Jesuit begins his discussion of the encyclical with an apparently unheeded warning lest "ideas be drawn from it which

Msgr. George G. Higgins, Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

are not there but which the reader himself previously read into it." This tendency he finds particularly "among the liberals and Socialists." Nell-Breuning then remarks that the only labor unions given positive approval in the encyclical are unions "guided by Christian principles."

He claims no familiarity with the conduct of American unions but ventures the surmise that our unions are so guided, since "Trade union conventions in America open with solemn religious services (for Catholics often with a pontifical Mass and a sermon by a member of the hierarchy)—every formal act of state in America opens with a prayer . . . "!

Why does Msgr. Higgins go 5,000 miles and winnow the Rhineland for a witness to the so-called Christian conduct of American unions when he already has the forthright testimony of such a responsible eyewitness as Fr. James Gillis? As the monsignor knows very well, Fr. Gillis has declared that "Professional labor, which has quite generally come to violate justice and right, does so in the name of philanthropy, humanity and religion."

The monsignor knows, too, that the well-informed Jewish critic, Will Herberg, adds that "The lack of a labor conscience . . . is, in a sense, the basic problem of American trade unionism . . . . The problem [is one] of 'double morality,' one ethic for private life and another for the organization involved."

Not withstanding the very un-Christian record of our unions, the monsignor wants them to be allowed to *compel* membership. And he holds that his stand there accords with Rome.

He ignores the opposition of those such as Bishop Robert J. Dwyer of Reno, who complained of those clerics who opposed the right-to-work law in Nevada. "The difficulty is," Bishop Dwyer declared, "that some theologians and Catholic publicists are prone to write and speak as though they were the Holy Father himself. Instead of stating the facts and drawing their conclusions, with emphasis upon the actual limitations of their authority, they sometimes create the impression that they have a private pipeline to infallibility."

Aloysius J. Muench, too, the Cardinal Archbishop of Fargo, insisted that union membership "cannot be imposed on the worker with absolute finality. There are situations in which he cannot, in conscience, be a member of certain unions . . . " Archbishop Noll of Fort Wayne added his testimony, that in a Washington convention he polled some 20 fellow bishops and found the majority favoring the right-to-work principle. Such opposition among Catholic bishops to compulsory unionism goes back at least as far as 1882.

Not one in 15 of the American hierarchy has approved of compulsory unionism in any form, at any time. Those who have so approved have spoken only for their own dioceses and usually in the mildest terms. Thus the six Ohio bishops who in 1958 opposed the proposed Ohio right-to-work law explained that they did so because in the then prevailing Ohio industrial climate the law "might do more harm than good."

Ironically enough, Pope John, whom Msgr. Higgins cites as so friendly to our secular unions, has spoken very clearly in condemnation of compulsory unionism. In a 1960 letter to the *Semaine Sociale*, Grenoble, transmitted for him by the secretary of state, Pope John warns against undue interference with the freedom of the individual—excessive socialization leading to dehumanization.

The Pope concedes that trade unions may be very useful, but he insists they must be "offered to, not imposed upon the free choice of mankind." Pope John advises Christians, before affiliating with such organizations, to "gauge before God the value of these institutions that are offered them, of these pressures that they accept and suffer."

If then the individual is to make use of these institutions, let it be "the result of a free and justified choice of careful thought about himself, his destiny and that of the world."

Such advocates of compulsory unionism as Msgr. Higgins have attributed the *Semaine Sociale* letter to the Papal secretary of state rather than to Pope John himself, and have claimed that it applies to Socialist unions in Europe, not to American unions.

But the National Catholic Welfare Conference, including the entire American hierarchy, in its 1960 annual statement repudiated both those evasions. Moreover, the *Semaine Sociale* letter spoke of labor unions potentially of great value—a judgment it would not put on Socialist unions.

That condemnation of compulsory unionism (and consequently that assertion of the right-to-work principle) Pope John repeated in his final encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, in 1963. "Human beings," he insisted, "have the natural right to free initiation in the economic field, and the right to work."

That there might be no doubt of his meaning, he later elaborated: "The dignity of the human person also requires that every man enjoy the right to act freely and responsibly. For this reason, therefore, in social relations man should exercise his rights, fulfill his obligation, and, in the countless forms of collaboration with others, act chiefly on his own responsibility and initiative.

This is to be done in such a way that each one acts on his own decision, of set purpose and from a consciousness of obligation, without being moved by force or pressure brought to bear on him externally. For any human society that is established on relations of force must be regarded as inhuman, inasmuch as the personality of its members is repressed or restricted, when in fact they should be provided with appropriate incentives and means of developing and perfecting themselves."

That passage is in complete accord with the right-to-work principle that "Americans must have the right but not be compelled to join labor unions." It clashes head-on with compulsory unionism. Give our workers "appropriate incentives" to join labor unions, then let them perfect themselves by choosing freely.

Despite the absolute absence of foundation for compulsory unionism furnished by Roman documents, Msgr. Higgins continues to advocate compulsion. He recently even petitioned the American hierarchy for approval of compulsion, but was refused. Yet he uses every resource of his official position to discredit opposition to his efforts.

Thus he has publicized an assortment of denunciations (from liberal and largely clerical sources) of my own right-to-work efforts. The assortment was printed in the name of the National Council for Industrial Peace, known by the monsignor to be a "front" financed and serviced by the AFL-CIO.

The monsignor used his official mailing list and stencils to spread that underhanded attack nationally.

Meanwhile, opposition to the monsignor's union partisanship continues to rise in Catholic ranks. Nearly a thousand of the clergy recently accepted my own invitation to go on record as subscribing to the right-to-work principle.

Intense lay opposition to the monsignor's stand is reflected, too, in the complaint of a liberal Catholic editor, asking, "Why is it that so many Catholics—for the most part workers or middle class people whose grandfathers were practically enslaved by the robber barons of the last century—show such a tendency to favor capital in any dispute with labor?"

Furthermore, the entire membership of the National Council of Catholic Women (NCCW) in the great Los Angeles archdiocese has withdrawn from the national body because (for one thing) of that body's championing of compulsory unionism.

Despite the fact that not a single Catholic professional moralist has condemned the right-to-work principle, the NCCW went so unbelievably far as to declare (*Monthly Message* Aug.-Sept. 1957, p. 9)—on its own unsupported word and with no evidence whatever—that right-to-work laws are immoral and a violation of God-given rights. Hence, for the love of God and neighbor, and to "restore Christ into law," members were urged to work to have such laws prevented or repealed. (The ominous thing is that the rejection of such obscurantist bureaucratic dogmatizing was not nationwide and decisive.)

Let me end these remarks with a question. Forty years ago when the Social Action Department, NCWC, was being organized, Father Peter E. Dietz, called by his biographer "the first labor priest," wanted a position in its employ. But Bishop Muldoon, episcopal chairman of the department, deemed that priest unfit because of his pronounced labor union bias.

Has a bias that disqualified a priest when our unions were feeble become a virtue now that those unions are so powerful? Is *that* the meaning of the words of Scripture, "To him who has, it shall be given"? Why this strange "running to the aid of the strong?"

Neither Pope Pius XII (left) nor John XXIII attacked right-to-work, although pro-labor propaganda has often made it appear so.

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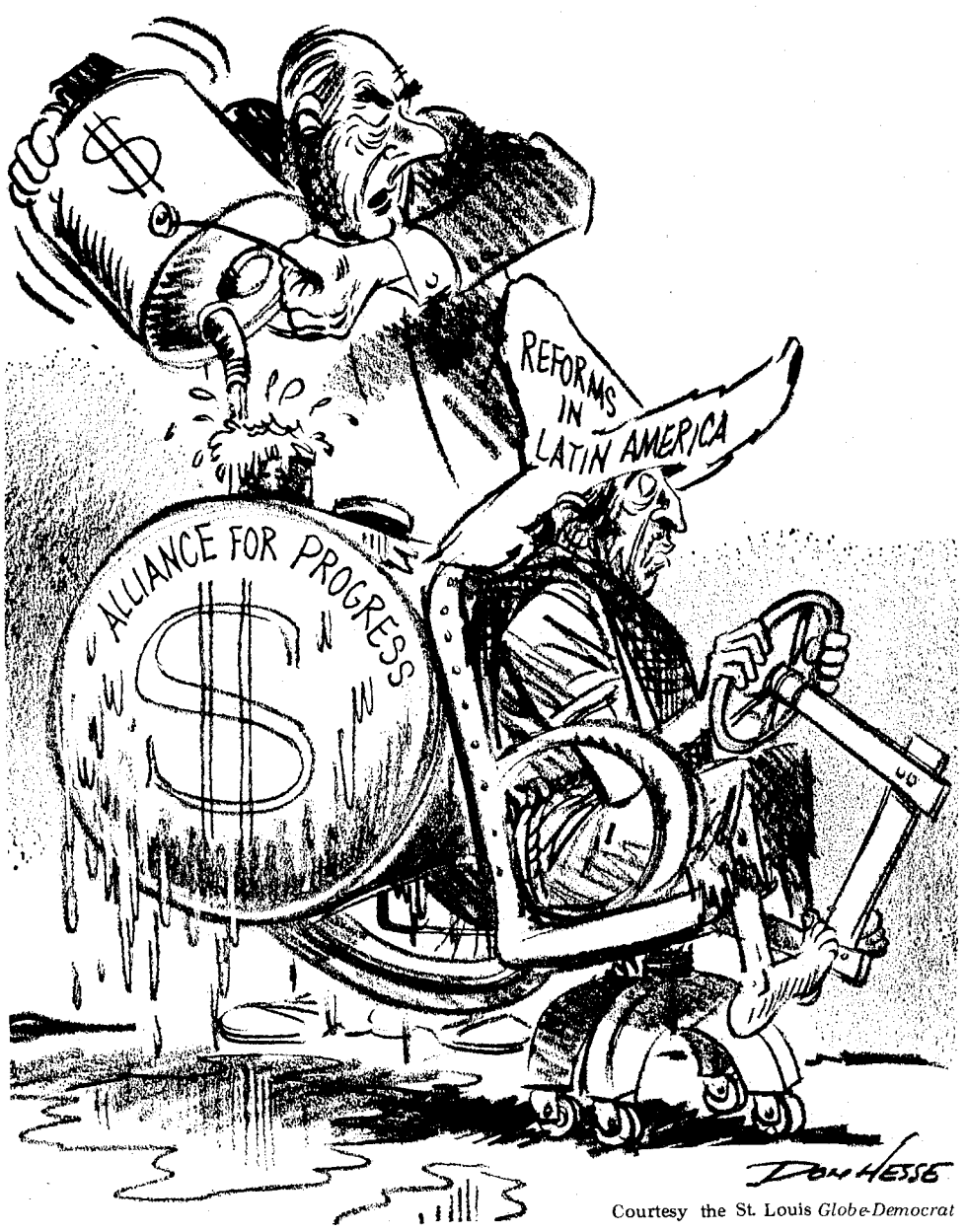
Bring More Gas!



Courtesy the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Administration Line:

'Alliance Failing? Double Spending'

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The Alliance for Progress has been a colossal failure, by everyone's admission up to this time, and now President Johnson has decided to double it.

This is a sad commentary on an altogether too frequent conduct of government, that if things don't work, double the spending.

The Alliance for Progress was set up by President Kennedy in August, 1961, with 19 Latin American nations. This country was to give $10 billion, with $90 billion from Latin American self help and other sources including private investment over a 10-year period.

In the first two years, almost 2.5 billion of U.S. taxpayers' money was committed, but it resulted in more private investment flowing out of Latin America than flowed in.

This, combined with galloping inflation—particularly in Brazil, which received the most aid—completed the dreary picture of not only no progress, but failing even to keep even.

To this was added the failure of the Latin American countries to provide self help and to institute the reforms upon which Mr. Kennedy based his program. Respect for the United States declined, gratitude was nil, and our position south of the border deteriorated—notwithstanding the high idealism of the program and the very substantial funds provided.

There are many reasons for the failure. First, in classic South American fashion, the money went to the politicians and almost none trickled down to the desperately impoverished masses.

Second, the Latin American mentality more than anything else admires honor. The United States' honor was lessened in the Latin American mind by the ease with which Castro was able to humiliate us and expand his revolution 90 miles from our shore, in the face of the no-longer observed Monroe Doctrine.

Third, after honor the Latins admire strength. America has shown no strength or leadership in its dealing with the Central and South American nations. Quite to the contrary, many of these nations—particularly with respect to Castro—have been far more anxious than we to seize the initative against this cancer which is spreading throughout the hemisphere.

The appeasement-minded schemes lately propounded by Sen. Fulbright, were, rightly or wrongly, considered a trial balloon because of his important position as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

We admired President Kennedy's idealism and the dedication of President Johnson to eradicating poverty. Unfortunately, dollars alone won't do it. There must be a systematic plan and a large degree of self help, and this apparently is little envisioned in Mr. Johnson's current scheme.

Anyone who has ever been south of the border recognizes the almost unbelievable poverty of these areas. There is no questioning the need. A hostile Latin America is unthinkable and we must help them, but dollar bills alone never could and now less than ever can do the job.

Fighting without a plan is no fight at all, but a mockery. Emphasize and insist on self help, Mr. President, and make our aid contigent on meaningful progress in this direction—benefiting the people, not the politicians—and then the nation will be with you in your laudable objectives.

Zealots Want Social Workers To Replace Military Chaplains

By NORMAN VINCENT PEALE

Those who are zealous to eliminate God from all public affairs are now out after the chaplains. Suddenly it seems a terrible thing to have Catholic, Jewish and Protestant chaplains in the armed forces of the United States. The reason? Chaplains represent God, and their salaries are paid by the U.S. government, which is now supposed to be a godless organization. So a movement is on to get rid of chaplains and substitute social workers for them.

How would this work out? Let's imagine an American soldier dying in a foreign land. Wounded in battle, this boy's life force is ebbing rapidly. His eyes grow dim. His limbs are becoming cold. Being only a boy, he has longing thoughts of home, mother, wife or sweetheart. Maybe he even thinks fondly of the old church in his home town. Thoughts of his religion crowd in upon him. Death is at hand.

At this moment who should bend over him but a uniformed social worker. "Son," he says in a brisk social-concern voice, "before you die I must get some statistical information. Just how do you feel about our social problems, such as integration and public housing?"

Of course, the dying soldier is well past such matters, vital as they are in life. In the hour of his death an American soldier dying for freedom and ideals and brotherhood (all of which are spiritual concepts) would, I rather guess, want to see bending over him a man on whose uniform was the cross of Christ or the star of David.

Service in the armed forces is a responsibility and privilege of citizenship. For some it isn't exactly what they might choose at the particular time in their lives. In war time it's no picnic. Boys away from home develop special problems. A wise and friendly chaplain comes in pretty handy for counseling and spiritual advice; good practical advice, too.

It means something to a man to realize that his government is sufficiently concerned about his spiritual welfare to provide chapels for all faiths and a chaplains corps to take care of the deeper interests of troops serving our country.

But the argument is raised, "Let the churches pay for the chaplaincy and separate it from the military establishment." In such an event what is the Department of Defense going to do about Methodist chapels, Baptist chapels, Dutch Reformed chapels, Jewish temples and Catholic chapels, together with offices—all built on government property?

And how is the whole independent project to be organized? How would you settle the relationship between denominational chaplains and military social workers? The chaplains couldn't wear uniforms, as that symbolizes government, so you end up having civilian preachers, priests and rabbis on military posts—and who is in charge of what?

It could be the day would come when American boys who still consider they have souls might say, "Why should I go out and get myself killed for a government that thinks of me only as a body?" They might even go so far as to recall that the first commander in chief of our armed forces—George Washington—actually was caught praying in the snow at Valley Forge. But pardon me for mentioning this. That's considered corny now by our super-duper liberals, and maybe even illegal.

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Hitler's Anti-Poverty War

We shall banish want; we shall banish fear. The essence of National Socialism is human welfare . . . National Socialism is the revolution of the common man. Rooted in a fuller life for every German from childhood to old age, National Socialism means a new day of abundance at home and a better world order abroad. . . ."

—From a speech by Adolf Hitler

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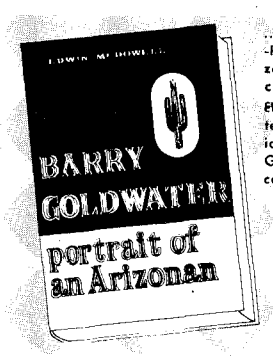

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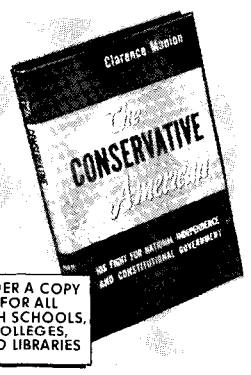

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The Unlettered and Poor

By RUSSELL KIRK

Is there a connection between illiteracy and poverty? Yes: but not the sort of connection that some of the war-on-poverty campaigners fancy.

I have at hand an interesting letter from Mrs. Raymond Rubicam, vice president of the Reading Reform Foundation (36 West 44th, New York 36). This foundation has been accomplishing admirable work in restoring the phonetic method of learning to read—the only real way to learn to read—as opposed to the fallacies of "look—say" which have plagued most of our schools for a generation.

"That poverty and illiteracy go hand in hand is true," Mrs. Rubicam writes to me, "but the attack on poverty will not correct the situation with regard to basic literacy.

"For today even the middle classes and the children of the wealthy have suffered from reading problems caused by the fantastically stupid method of pictograph reading that is taught to the bulk of school children—until remedial reading, bringing phonetics, comes into the picture. And at that late date, this cure fails to cure some, the disease being far advanced."

Poverty, in short, does not cause illiteracy. Illiteracy is caused principally by inadequate teaching of reading and writing. In Rochester, N. Y., "culturally deprived" colored children have abruptly become culturally-advanced children, reading much better than the national average for their age—simply through introducing them to the phonetic method. It wasn't necessary to make them affluent to make them literate, though their ability to read and write doubtless will help them to improve themselves.

This is true also in Arizona, Mrs. Rubicam continues, "where basic phonetic reading has swept the state, and where Indians and Spanish-Americans are proving that the formerly inferior records of their schools were not caused by poverty, low intelligence quotients, emotional problems, or any other of the educational excuses usually advanced." In Arizona, as in Rochester, Boston, Tulsa, Des Moines, and other cities and regions, real improvement comes from a change of method—not from elaborate welfare schemes.

"What wonderful things are happening from the bottom up!" Mrs. Rubicam observes. "Little districts which can afford to be independent have started the change, which is spreading to major cities. Colleges of education have had little or nothing to do with the startling changes." Parents, independent teachers, forceful principals and some enlightened superintendents are the agents of this change—not the educationist hierarchy.

Part of the war-against-poverty scheme is a vast largesse to "gray areas" schools, designed to make the urban slums literate, among other things. (This actually is a back-door approach to federal aid to education, which Congress refuses to approve under its true name; as many as a third of the country's schools might become eligible for lavish federal grants, under the war against poverty proposals.) Despite plenty of foundation money, experiments with "gray areas" schools have not been very encouraging these past few years.

Literate young people, true, are more easily employable, and so less liable to become public charges and slum-dwellers. But is it not altogether possible that a mere lavishing of money from Washington may fail to enable them to read and write competently? And is it not also possible that simply adopting sound methods of instruction, and giving them better basic readers, may accomplish this desirable end?

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LBJ's Patsy: Business

By DONALD I. ROGERS

President Johnson's affable chiding of the business community in his speech at the annual convention of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, interspersed with appeals to business to get behind his anti-poverty campaign, along with comments about his belief in private enterprise, was designed to enhance his election-year image as a moderate and "President of all the people."

In a subliminal way it conveyed the impression that stuffy, conservative businessmen are opposed to his plans for warring on poverty in Appalachia and elsewhere, and that for the sole reason of assuaging their reactionary hearts they are opposed to his Medicare. He didn't accuse them outright—but it was implied strongly when he felt need to persuade them to his point of view.

There was something sinister in the way Mr. Johnson first pointed out how well business was doing, how it had enjoyed increasing profits during the last several years from $17.2 billion after taxes in 1952 to an estimated $30 billion in 1964, and then quickly urged his anti-poverty program upon them.

Was he saying: "You've had it darn good; don't be so selfish; share just a little (he quoted the figure of one penny out of each tax dollar) to make it easier for the less fortunate?"

He did say: "Private citizens and public officials don't have to be loose with a dollar to prove they are liberals, or callous to prove they are conservatives." And he added, "I believe government must be more frugal without becoming less compassionate."

The businessmen have been set up for patsys. Now if the Johnson poverty war doesn't make it through Congress—and it faces rough going there—business has already been selected to receive the blame.

Many business leaders and plain, ordinary businessmen are opposed to the President's $1 billion poverty war in the nine states of the Appalachian region. This is not from hard-heartedness, indifference, selfishness or parsimoniousness.

Experience in the harsh, practical business world has taught them that what the President wishes to do in Appalachia—build new roads, create water conservation projects, instigate pasture improvement plans—will not solve the problem. The coal mining and lumbering industries, economic backbone of the region, have come upon hard days. New industries have not taken up the slack.

Businessmen know—and so do many contemplative voters including many in Appalachia—that World War II brought an end to nine years of just such make-work programs as Mr. Johnson advocates, and nowhere did they eliminate or in most cases even alleviate omnipresent poverty.

Businessmen instinctively fear government "help." One of the ideas of the "Employment Opportunity Commission," for example, is pre-job testing to be administered by government. From costly experience gained at the hands of experts, businessmen know such devices don't work.

Most Americans are compassionate for the citizens of Appalachia who do not fare well, just as they were concerned for the citizens of New England a few years ago when the textile industry moved south, some of it to Appalachia.

They remember that all of the ambitious New Deal projects that were tried out on New England never solved the problem there. New Englanders solved it themselves, by insisting on sensible local and state governments, and by creating an atmosphere to patiently attract new industries.

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Hoffa May Owe $600,000 in Taxes

By VICTOR RIESEL

At least $850,000 has been drawn from the Teamsters' national treasury since 1962 to defend James Hoffa against federal criminal charges. Now the government is considering action to force the hyper-tensioned Teamsters' chief either to repay the full amount to the union or to declare it earned income and pay personal taxes on it.

If a successful Treasury Department action develops, Hoffa would have to pay over $600,000 in back taxes and a considerable sum in interest. Other suits can be brought by the secretary of Labor and by rank-and-file union committees under the labor-management reporting and disclosure act of 1959 for recovery of the money.

Although Hoffa has drawn more money in salary and expenses than any other leader in the world, he does not have such ready funds. In 1963 Hoffa received $94,013.-70 from the Teamsters' Brotherhood, in addition to the use of a private plane and thousands of dollars for hotel suites, food and commercial travel expenses.

Some legal experts now examining the 1959 law believe that responsibility for all funds rests with the Teamsters' three national trustees and the 15-member general executive board. Insiders say that this accounts for many of the objections to Hoffa's continued use of the big money and for his own willingness to refer the matter to an impartial legal authority.

But there is no organized revolt against Hoffa at the moment among the vacillating and often frightened members of the board. Only two men now are willing to stand up against Hoffa. They are New York's Teamsters' chief, Johnny O'Rourke, fifth vice president and general organizer who has always been a rebel both behind the scenes and out front, and Philadelphia's John B. Backhus, eighth vice president.

Most of the others have assured Hoffa in recent telephone calls that they simply want to protect themselves financially by going through legal processes. They have reassured him they certainly are not opposed to the Brotherhood's paying for the cadres of attorneys and massive court costs.

Hoffa may be jumpy but he has not lost his sense of strategy. He has his defense all worked out. The cocky labor chief is counting on sections of the 1961 national constitution which he helped write.

The vital portion for Hoffa is Article 9, Section 9—a clause unique in labor history. Not only does it permit Teamsters' leaders their expenditures in the courts and for endless investigations, but it opens the way for the spending of the union's entire $42.-562 million worth of assets. Under Hoffa the Teamsters have kept a bank balance of over $13 million and as much as $176,507 in the headquarters as "cash on hand."

The section of the constition on which Hoffa depends reads:

Legal Expenses

Section 9(a). The International Union is authorized to pay all expenses for investigating services, employment of all counsel and other necessary expenditures in any cause, matter, case or cases where an officer, representative, employee, agent or one charged with acting in behalf of the International Union and/or its affiliates is charged with any violation or violations of any law or is sued in any civil action or actions (1) if a majority of the General Executive Board in its sole discretion determines that said charges or law suits are (a) unfounded; or (b) are politically motivated; or (c) were filed in bad faith in an attempt to embarrass or destroy the Union or the Union officer or representative; (2) or if a majority of the General Executive Board in its sole discretion determines that the expenditures should be made."

The executive board can approve disbursement of union funds for the defense of persons who are not even members of the Teamsters. And they can, in effect, approve heavy expenditures for defense of officials and others if the board believes charges are "politically motivated" or brought in "bad faith" or simply if it "in its sole discretion determines that the expenditures should be made." All that Hoffa needs for approval of withdrawals is a majority of the board—or seven members in addition to himself.

This should not be difficult for him to get. Many of the board members are beholden to him for extra titles and jobs which bring them over $20,-000 yearly in addition to their regular union offices.

A regional organizer's post, for example, pays $20,000 yearly and expenses. Thus some of the vice presidents draw over $30,000 annually in addition to other salaries. Hoffa has the power to lop them off the national payroll and they are not eager to lose the extra income and power.

So they may yet vote Hoffa the authority to draw his gargantuan legal expenses. But they'll have to reckon with the government, which has other ideas.

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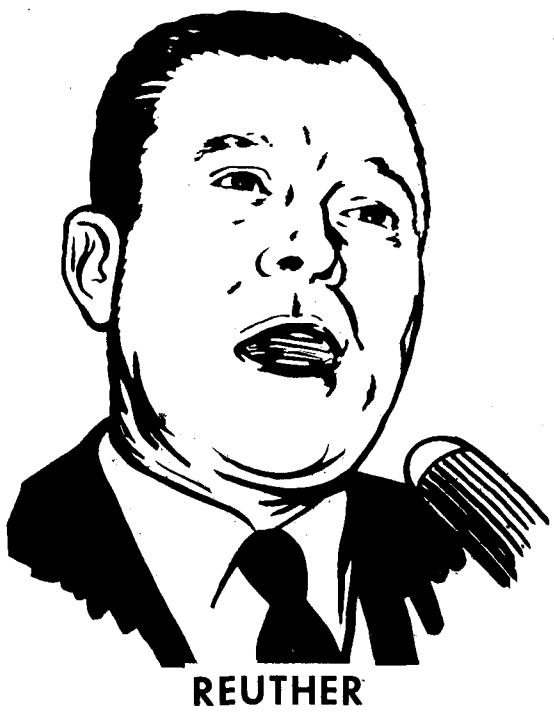
'Walter Reuther is an earnest Marxist, chronically inebriated, I think, by the exuberance of his verbosity.'

says John L. Lewis



REUTHER

Washington, D.C.—A phonograph record now available for immediate release to you features startling quotes such as the above by powerful men who control our labor unions today. These men have shocking plans for America. And they know each other far better than the American public knows any of them. Witness the devastating attack on Walter Reuther (above), made not (as you might expect) by Sen. Barry Goldwater, but rather by none other that President Emeritus John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, a tough-as-nails bushy-browed anti-Communist who warns you in this record of the danger to your liberties now afforded by Auto Workers Chief Walter Reuther!

Some of the things you will hear on this record will absolutely *shock* you. You may even find it hard, in some cases, to believe they are true. And yet they are true—every word of them!

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LEWIS

You can listen, for example, to "Moderator" Don Gardiner, make this remark to Walter Reuther:

"Mr. Reuther, you have long had an interest in a so-called 'planned' economy. E. L. Dayton, in his recent book about you, refers to the controversial letter you and your brother, Victor, are alleged to have written on your visit to Russia, way back in 1934. He quotes a paragraph of that letter to the effect 'We are watching, daily, socialism being taken down from the books on the shelves and put into actual application. Who could not be inspired by such events?' Now that was years ago, of course, but just what is your attitude toward government planning of the economy?"

You will then hear, next on your recording, these actual words by AFL-CIO Vice President, Walter Reuther: "I think the government should create an overall agency to regulate and begin to work out plans to plan and coordinate economical factors in our national economy. We have not forgotten that free enterprise did not meet the requirements of war, and it will not meet the requirements of peace. . . . The labor movement can only be effective if it becomes less an economic movement and more a social movement."

Then, next on the record, you will hear United Mineworkers leader John L. Lewis interrupt with these actual, truthfully quoted words: "Reuther is an earnest Marxist, chronically inebriated, I think, by the exuberance of his verbosity."

And "exchanges" such as this are only a small part of this recording. You will also hear, for example, Teamsters Boss Jimmy Hoffa saying: "You cannot have a one-city strike anymore, or a strike in just one kind of transportation. You have to strike them all!"

Frightening words? Sound like a threat of a massive labor movement to bring all America to its knees? Do you doubt that our unions would go this far? Then listen to this actual quote on your record by James Carey, head of the Electrical Workers' Union: "Every other nationwide strike from now on will be not just a one-union strike, but a strike of the entire American labor movement."

But why these all-encompassing strikes, you ask? Why can't workers gain fair pay and working conditions by peaceful collective bargaining with executives of their individual companies? What BIG NEW AIM lies behind such ultimatums by union chieftains?

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Does this blunt declaration bother you, as it does many *thinking* Americans? It doesn't bother Mr. Meany.

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MEANY

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Pennsylvania State Treasurer Praises Federal 'Generosity'

By HOWARD E. KERSHNER

We have just received a brief bit of propaganda from the treasurer of one of our great states. The first item at the upper right hand corner of the page is a picture of the pretty lady herself. Some of the opening lines of her report are as follows:

"The largest single item of income used to support the many and varied programs of the state of 'X' is from the federal government. Although there are many large taxpayers who make sizeable returns to the Commonwealth, none is equal to the contribution of the federal government.

"Nor does the federal government confine its generosity to only one or two fields. . . . There are grants to support various health and welfare programs, to further education at all levels, to construct highways, to promote agriculture, to help refurbish blighted areas and grants to retain individual workers. There are also grants for military affairs, civil defense, mine drainage, and conservation.

"Few federal aid grants are made as gifts without strings attached. . . . In some programs federal grants amount to about 50 per cent, while in a few it increases to the point where the federal government contributes 100 per cent."

The total of the federal grants to this one state about which the lady treasurer is so happy amounted to $368,878,302 for the 1962-1963 fiscal year. How generous the federal government is to make all these "gifts" and "grants" to the people of this

In her report on federal grants to Pennsylvania, State Treasurer Grace Sloan neglects to mention that the federal government took 18 times as much from Pennsylvanians as it gave them.

state, running as the lady says, as high as 100 per cent of the costs of some of the projects. One would think the federal government has an unlimited supply of money which it can generously dole out to the people of the several states.

The lady does not tell us that the federal government took 18 times as much from the people of this particular state as it gave them—*about $6.25 billion for the* year ending June 30, 1961, according to the latest available figures.

This gracious but naive lady made, quite frankly, one important statement: "Few federal aid grants are made as gifts without strings attached." It should be noted that for giving back a part of the money taken from the people of the state, the federal government insists on exercising more and more control over them.

The "strings attached" grow increasingly numerous and of greater and greater strength, destroying the independence and freedom of the people of our states and further centralizing power and authority. That way lies totalitarianism.

Woodrow Wilson has told us: "The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental powers, not the increase of it. When we resist, therefore, the concentration of power, we are resisting the processes of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties."

We know when power is centered in any one place, freedom disappears everywhere else. That process is far advanced in our country and the pace is accelerating.

□ □ □

CZECH-UP—At a political meeting in Prague Frantisek asks, "Comrade functionary, when will there finally be enough milk and meat in Prague, and when will we be permitted to visit our relatives in Vienna?"

A functionary: "Comrade, I cannot answer these questions today. Please have patience until the next meeting."

At the next meeting Labovich rises. "Comrade functionary, I have three questions. When will we again get enough milk and meat in Prague? When will we finally be allowed to visit our relatives in Vienna? Where is Comrade Frantisek?"—From *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, as reported by *Chicago Tribune*

□ □ □

ANSWERS to History Quiz on page 2: 1. c) Robert A. Taft, 2. c) Two, Washington and Madison, 3. c) Denmark

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

"In the Johnson world of tomorrow everybody is going to have everything whether it is earned or not. There is just one nagging question: Who is going to pay for it?"—Rep. Bruce Alger (R.-Tex.)

Farm 'Poverty'

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

The left hand really doesn't know what the right hand is doing. The U. S. Department of Agriculture recently announced that one-third of the 16 million families living in poverty in rural America are farmers. A Department of Agriculture census report published about the same time shows there are 3,481,000 farms in the nation. This indicates there are nearly 2 million more "poor" farm families than the total number of farms in the United States. These mentioned reports came out about the same time as did the President's economic report to the nation, which indicated that net farm income, per farm, had risen 12 per cent in the past three years.

New TV Room

By REP. ROBERT MICHEL (R.-Ill.)

Keeping in mind the President's desire to save a few pennies—it costs 1 penny to burn a 100-watt bulb all night—it was interesting to note an article in the May 8, 1964, issue of the Washington *Post* by Lawrence Laurent. The article states that a new television room will be built in the White House at a total cost of $1 million.

Perhaps we will see on our TV sets some night the folksy image of Mr. Johnson making his way to his bed chamber—in a long nightshirt and with a candle in his hand. Undoubtedly he will be dragging his beagles by the ears so he can listen to them bay at the moon.

And just think, Mr. Speaker, it will only cost $1 million to arrange this.

Bad Mail Service

By REP. GEORGE A. GOODLING (R.-Pa.)

Prompt and adequate mail service is essential to the business community which President Johnson importunes to accelerate the economy. Remember, it is business and not government that regulates our economy. It is the just right of a people who pay one of the highest postage rates in the world to expect adequate service, but we are confronted with the sorry fact that the postal service is slowly deteriorating and disintegrating.

Free Enterprise

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (D.-S. C.)

The New York World's Fair is featuring many interesting and important exhibits this year.

To the suprise of many, religion and our free enterprise system, two bedrocks of our republic, are being emphasized in a number of exhibits. One exhibit, the Hall of Free Enterprise, is concerned with articulating to the public the philosophy behind the free enterprise or capitalist system. This exhibit is sponsored by the American Economic Foundation with the support of a number of organizations such as Freedoms Foundation, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, National 4-H Clubs, etc.

The Hall of Free Enterprise is the first exhibit ever constructed to dramatize the workings, benefits, and blessings of the free enterprise system. Designed to tell the truth to all the world concerning the abundance and affluence produced in a free market economy, it goes on the offensive against the forces of both creeping and galloping socialism which are today trying to plant the flag of socialism and government regimentation everywhere, including America.

Creating Wealth

By REP. Wm. H. HARRISON (R.-Wyo.)

Because we are only 6 per cent of the world's population and yet produce one-third of its goods and services, our system has already proved that the way to reduce poverty is not by redistributing wealth but by creating it. The solid and progressive remedy for poverty lies in fiscal responsibility and economic freedom.

Warren Commission

By REP. EDWARD J. GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

One of the main purposes of this extensive examination of assassination [the Warren Commission] was to affirm or dispel the suspicion that a Communist conspiracy was responsible for John F. Kennedy's murder. The Commission's action recently in retaining Norman Redlich will cast a dark shadow over the work of the commission.

I am shocked at the commission's action, amounting to a vote of confidence in a man who has actively engaged in such efforts as the abolishment of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Hence, the investigation, which should have been, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion has instead began shrouded by a hazy veil of doubt and uncertainty.

Cold War Offensive

By REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

We should carry on a coordinated economic, psychological and diplomatic cold war offensive against world communism. The report of discontent within the Soviet Union and its satellites and the internal problems that plague Red China dramatize the basic weakness of communism. We should exploit their weakness rather than subsidize any Communist regime or give Khrushchev personal aid and comfort.

Individual Rights

By REP. JAMIE WHITTEN (D.-Miss.)

No longer are people being taught to work, save, and accumulate capital so they may get ahead in the future. We have accepted foreign ways. We accept their policy of the shortcut; to demand, strike, insist upon, divide, and ask for what the other fellow worked for and has accumulated is condoned, if not promoted. The real tragedy is that a whole new generation is being taught that this is the way to get results. It is said individual rights must come ahead of property rights. My friends, if there were no property rights there would be no individual rights to enjoy.

Santa Claus Approach

By REP. JAMES B. UTT (R.-Calif.)

The President returned from a two-day trip to "Appalachia" where great unemployment and much poverty does in fact exist. He announced that he was amazed at the crowds that came out to greet him. He apparently did not realize that he was regarded as Santa Claus with a pack on his back, overflowing with taxpayers' money to be given away for the asking. The President's economic adviser, Walter Heller, says that poverty is a national disgrace. Poverty is not a disgrace. It is a misfortune, but it cannot be resolved by a national dole. The only disgrace is that our government has been unable to create a favorable climate in which business can have confidence in government and can expand.

Pay Raise Bill

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Under the whiplash and arm-twisting of the White House, the latest salary grab for members of Congress and other federal employes was forced out of committee and sent on its way to the floor of the House, but now comes word that further action may be stalled until after the voting in the California and New York primaries early in June.

The word is that some members of the House might get hurt politically if they voted before the primaries to increase congressional pay checks to $30,000 a year. If this is true, then the pay increase is not based on merit—it is based on how much the voters can be made to swallow.

Incidentally, one of the reasons given for the salary grab is that qualified employes are quitting the federal government to take jobs elsewhere. Now comes the Civil Service Commission to say that the rate of resignations is dropping and one of the reasons is the uncertainty of getting jobs outside the government.

Wonder what the pay increase promoters at the White House and elsewhere will dream up in answer to their now deflated argument of higher pay to keep employes on the federal payroll?

Red U.N. Dues

By REP. GENE SNYDER (R.-Ky.)

Although Premier Khrushchev is not at the United Nations banging his shoe on the table, Russia is still causing an uneasiness in New York. The Soviet Union is more than two years behind in the payment of its assessments for peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East and is due to lose its vote in the General Assembly this fall unless payment is made. The Soviet delegation is saying that any attempt to deny its vote will endanger the future existence of the United Nations. If Russia is successful in ignoring the penalty, it would in effect have amended the charter by unilateral action and if this occurs the world organization's effectiveness would be even less than at the present. No doubt new concessions will be made to pacify the Russians.

GOLDWATER STAMPS!!!

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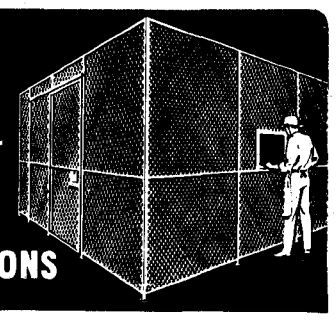

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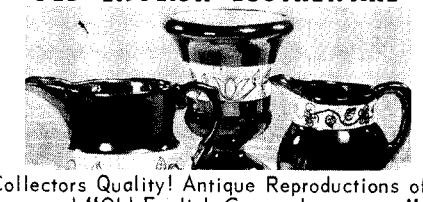

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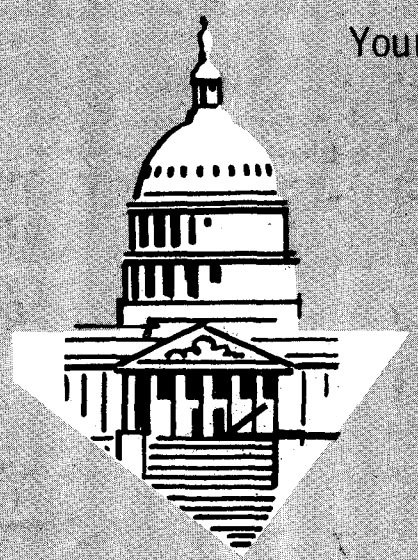

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